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LIVES:

VOLUME *the* SECOND.

CONTAINING

THEMISTOCLES. FABIVS MAXIMVS.  
CAMILLVS. ALCIBIADES.  
PERICLES. CORIOLANVS.

*Translated from the GREEK.*



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MDCCXLIX.



REPUTATION

THE

VOLUME SECOND

CONTAINING

A HISTORY OF THE  
AMERICAN  
REPUBLIC

FROM 1776 TO 1876

LONDON

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
THEMISTOCLES,

**T**HE Family of *Themistocles* was too obscure for him to draw any Lustre from thence, or to make his Glory shine the brighter. His Father *Neocles* was none of the most splendid of *Athens*, but of the Ward of *Phrear*, and of the Tribe of *Leontes*; and by his Mother's side, as it is reported, he was of foreign extraction.

*I am not of the Noble Grecian Race,  
I'm poor Abrotanon, and born in Thrace:  
Yet 'mong the Greeks my Fame shall never cease,  
For them I brought forth great Themistocles.*

Yet *Phanias* writes that the Mother of *Themistocles* was not of *Thracia*, but of *Caria*, and that her Name was not *Abrotanon* but *Euterpe*: And *Neantbes* adds further, that she was of the City of *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*: Upon which Consideration, when the Strangers, and Those

that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercise at *Cynosarges* (a wrestling Place without the Gates dedicated to *Hercules*, who was also under some Illegitimacy, and was not one of the great Immortal Gods, but had a Mortal Woman for his Mother) *Themistocles* persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him, to anoint and exercise themselves together at *Cynosarges*; in doing which, he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between Those of the whole and Those of the half Blood of *Athens*. However, it is certain that he was related to the House of the *Lycomedians*, for *Simonides* reports that he rebuilt the Chapel of *Phyle* belonging to that Family, and beautified it with Pictures and other Ornaments, after it had been burnt by the *Persians*.

It is confess'd by all; that from his Youth he was of an impetuous Nature, full of Spirit, Apprehensive, and of a good Understanding; that he discovered early a Genius fit for Action and the Management of publick Affairs: For the Vacations and Times of Recreation from his Studies, he spent not in Play or in Idleness, as other Youths, but would be always inventing or putting in order some Oration or Declamation, the Subject of which was generally the excusing or accusing his Companions; so that his Master would often say to him, *Boy, thou canst never be any thing mean or indifferent, but must at some time or other prove either a most Heroick Glorious Blessing, or a most Destructive Plague and Ruin to thy Country.* He received very slowly and negligently such Instructions as were given him to improve his Manners and Behaviour, or to teach him a genteel or graceful Deportment; but whatever was delivered to him to improve him in Prudence, or in the Management of publick Affairs, he would apprehend immediately, and understand it beyond one of his Years, for in such Things he followed his natural Inclinations: For which Reason being long after reflected on in an Assembly by some who past for Persons more accomplished in what is call'd

call'd good Breeding, and genteel Education, he took them up very short, and told them something bluntly, *It is true, I never learn'd to touch the Lute, or play upon the Harp; but if you will commit to my Charge a City never so obscure and inconsiderable, I can tell how to make it great and flourishing.* Yet notwithstanding This, *Stesimbrotus* says, That *Themistocles* was a Hearer of *Anaxagoras*, and that he studied natural Philosophy under *Melissus*; but he must needs err in the Time, for *Melissus* was Commander of the *Samians*, when *Pericles* made War against *Samos*; now *Themistocles* was much elder than *Pericles*, whereas *Anaxagoras* was his Cotemporary. They are therefore rather to be credited, who report, that *Themistocles* was an earnest follower of *Mnesiphilus* the *Phrearian*, who was neither Orator nor natural Philosopher, but a Professor of that which was then called Wisdom, or a Prudence exercised in ordering publick Concerns, and an accurate Understanding and Judgment in Affairs of State: which Profession being begun by *Solon*, was preserved successively as a Sect of Philosophy; but those who came afterwards, and mixed it with Pleadings and Disputes in Law, and transferred the practical Part of it to a mere Art of Speaking, and Exercise of Words and Terms, were generally call'd Sophists. However *Themistocles*, when he entred upon Affairs of State, applied himself to *Mnesiphilus*.

In the first motions of his Youth he was not regular nor well poised, drawing the lines of his Affairs according to his own natural Fancy, without Reason or Instruction; and made great alterations in his designs, running from one extreme to the other; and very often determined for the worst, as he afterwards confess'd, saying, *Ragged Colts make the best Horses, when They come to be well taught and managed.* But those who upon this account do erroneously raise Reports of his being disinherited by his Father, and that his Mother died for grief of her Son's Lewdness, do certainly most falsely calumniate him; and there are Divers who relate to the contrary, how that to deter him from dealing in Publick

Affairs, and to let him see how the Populace are wont to behave towards their Leaders when they have no further use of them, his Father shewed him the old Gallies as they lay neglected and forsaken upon the Sea-shore, without any care taken of them. Yet it is evident, that early, even in his younger Years, *Themistocles* shew'd a strong Inclination to that Honour that is usually got by serving in Publick Employments; in which being earnest to be the first, from the very beginning he by his Rashness created to himself the hatred of the most powerful and chieftest in the City, but more especially of *Aristides* the Son of *Lyfimachus*, who always opposed him; and yet all this great Enmity between them seem'd to have but a light beginning, for they both were in love with the fair *Stesileus* of *Teios*, as *Ariston* the Philosopher relates: and from that time they perpetually contended with their Parties and Factions in the Commonwealth. Not but that the disagreement of their Lives and Manners may seem to have increased the difference; for *Aristides* was of a mild Nature, good and fair conditioned, and governing all things for the best, with a due regard to Justice and the Publick Safety, with None to Glory or popular Applause; and yet he was often forc'd to oppose *Themistocles*, and to stand up against the increase of his Authority, because he stirr'd up the People to many attempts, and brought in great innovations: for it is said that *Themistocles* was so transported with the thoughts of Glory, and so inflamed with the desire of performing great Actions, that altho' he were but young when the Battle of *Marathon* was fought against the *Persians*, and the warlike Conduct of their General *Miltiades* was every where noised about, he was taken notice of to be thoughtful, and to go meditating many things alone by himself, to pass the Nights without sleep, and to refuse his accustomed Meetings and Recreations; and to those who wondred at this change in his manner of living, and demanded the reason of it, he gave this Answer, *That the Trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep*; and when Others were of

Opinion



Opinion that the Battle of *Marathon* would put an end to the War, *Themistocles* thought that it was but the beginning of far greater Conflicts, for which he prepared himself continually, for the good of all *Greece*, and exercised the City, as one foreseeing at a great distance what was likely to come to pass. And first of all, the *Athenians* being accustomed to distribute the Revenue proceeding from the Silver Mine at *Laurion* amongst themselves, he was the only Man that durst propose to the People, that this Distribution should cease, and that with the Money Ships should be built to make War against the *Æginetes*, who were the most flourishing People in *Greece*, and by the number of their Ships held the Sovereignty of the Sea: and to this *Themistocles* did easily persuade them, not by stirring them up against *Xerxes* or the *Persians*, who were at a great distance, and their coming was very uncertain, and at that time not much to be fear'd; but by seasonably making use of the Emulation, Hatred and Anger of the *Athenians* against the *Æginetes*, he induc'd them to raise Preparations. So that with this Money an hundred Ships were built, with which they afterwards fought against *Xerxes*; and from this beginning he by degrees persuaded the *Athenians* to apply their thoughts to Naval Affairs, making it evident to them, that those who on Land were not a fit match for their Neighbours, with their Ships might be able to free themselves even from the *Persians*, and become the Rulers of *Greece*. So that, as *Plato* says, from a standing *Militia*, and stout Soldiers that would not give way in Fight, he turned them into Mariners and Seamen tossed about the Sea, and gave occasion for this Reproach against him, That he took away from the *Athenians* the Spear and the Shield, and bound them to the Bench and the Oar. These things he performed, getting the better of *Miltiades*, who oppos'd him, as *Stesimbrotus* relates: but whether he did not by this means corrupt the Publick Manners may be matter of Enquiry for Philosophers. But that the deliverance of *Greece* came at that time from the Sea, and that those Gallies establish'd the City

of

of *Athens* again after it had been destroyed; to omit other Proofs, *Xerxes* himself is a sufficient Witness; who tho' his Land Forces were still entire, after he had been worsted at Sea, fled away, and thought himself no ways able to encounter them. And it seems to me he left *Mardonius* behind him, not out of any hopes he could have to bring them into Subjection, but to hinder the *Greeks* from pursuing him.

*Themistocles* is said by Some to be very intent upon heaping up Riches, that he might be the more liberal; (for loving to sacrifice often, and to be splendid in his entertainment of Strangers, he stood in need of a plentiful Revenue;) yet he is accused by Others of being naturally parsimonious, and sordid to that degree, that he would sell the Provision which was presented him. He desired *Philides*, who was a Breeder of Horses, to give him a Colt; and when he refused it, he threatned him that in a short time he would turn his House into a Horse of wood, like the *Trojan* Horse; intimating thereby that he would stir up strife and contests between Him and those of his own Family and Relations.

He went beyond all men in Ambition and desire of Honour, and when he was but young and not known in the World, he desired *Epicles* of *Hermiona*, who had a very good hand at the Lute, and was much esteemed by the *Athenians*, to come and practise at his House, hoping that the desire which the World had of hearing him perform upon the Lute would draw many Persons thither. When he came to the *Olympian* Games, and was so splendid in his Equipage and Entertainments, in his rich Tents and Furniture, that 'twas evident his Intention was to outdo *Cimon*, he displeased the *Greeks*; who thought that such Magnificence might be allow'd of in one who was a young Gentleman and of a great Family; but a great piece of Insolence in Him to carry himself thus high who was an Upstart, and of no considerable Fortune. He set out a Tragedy at his own Expence, and won the Prize with his Tragedians, in those times when they pursued those Sports with great Eagerness  
and

and Ambition, and set up a Table of his Victory with this Inscription; "*Themistocles the Pbrearian was at the Charge of it, Phrynicus made it, Adymantus was Archon.* He was well beloved by the common People, as he would salute every particular Citizen by his own Name, and as he always shew'd himself a just Judge of Controversies between private Men; and he said to *Simonides*, a Poet of *Cbios*, who desired something of him, when he was Commander of the Army, that was not reasonable, *Simonides*, *you would be no good Poet if you should go contrary to the due Measures and Rules of Poetry, nor should I be a good Magistrate, if for favour or affection I should go contrary to the Law.* And at another time laughing at *Simonides* he told him, *That he was a Man of little Judgment to speak against the Corinthians, who were Inhabitants of a great and beautiful City, and to have his own Picture drawn so often, having such an ill-favour'd Face.*

When he came to be great, and had won the Favour of the People, he stirred up a Party against *Aristides*, that expelled him, and banished him out of the City by their publick Votes. When the King of *Persia* was coming down into *Greece*, and the *Athenians* were in Consultation who should be their General, and Many withdrew themselves of their own Accord, being terrified with the greatness of the Danger; there was one *Epicyles* an Orator, Son to *Euphemides*, a Man who was powerful in Speech and of an eloquent Tongue, but of a faint Heart and a narrow Soul, a mere Slave to Riches; this Man was desirous of the Command, and was look'd upon to be in a fair way to carry it by the number of Votes: but *Themistocles* fearing, that if the Government should fall into such a Man's Hands, all would be lost, he bought out *Epicyles*; and for a good Sum of Money caused him to desist from his Pretensions.

When the King of *Persia* sent Messengers into *Greece*, with a *Greek* Interpreter, to demand Water and Earth as an acknowledgment of their Subjection and Obedience

to

to him, *Themistocles*, by the consent of the People, seiz'd upon the Interpreter, and put him to Death, for presuming to publish the Orders and Decrees of the King of *Persia* in the *Grecian* Language: and for This he was highly honoured by the *Greeks*; as also for what he did to *Artabius* of *Zelea*, who for bringing Gold from the King of *Persia* to corrupt the *Grecians*, was by an Order from *Themistocles* degraded from all Honour, and registred in the Book of Infamy, He, and his Children, and his Posterity: But that which most of all redounded to his Honour, was, that he put an End to all the Civil Wars of *Greece*, compos'd their Differences, and perswaded them to lay aside all Enmity during the War with the *Persians*; and in this great work *Cbileus* the *Arcadian* was very assisting to him.

Having taken upon himself the Command of the *Athenian* Forces, he immediately endeavoured to persuade the Citizens to leave the City, and to embark themselves upon their Gallies, and to meet with the *Persians* at a great Distance from *Greece*: But Many being against This, he led a great Army (the *Lacedæmonians* having join'd him) into *Tempe*; that in so narrow a Valley, bounded on each side with high Rocks, he might the more easily defend the *Thessalians*, who had not as yet declar'd for the King. But when they return'd without performing any thing, and it was known that not only the *Thessalians*, but all as far as *Bæotia* had yielded to *Xerxes*; then the *Athenians* more willingly hearkned to the Advice of *Themistocles* to fight by Sea, and sent him with a Fleet to guard the Straits of *Artemisium*.

When the *Grecian* Fleets were joined, the *Greeks* would have the *Lacedæmonians* to command, and *Eurybiades* to be their Admiral; but the *Athenians* refus'd to obey him, pretending the right of command was due to them, as they furnish'd a greater number of Ships than all the rest of *Greece*, till *Themistocles*, perceiving the Danger of this Contest, yielded the Command to *Eurybiades*, and got the *Athenians* to submit, extenuating the  
Loss,

Loss, by persuading them, that if in this War they behaved themselves like Men, the *Grecians* for the future of their own accord would give Them the chief Command. And by this Moderation of his, it is evident, that he was the great Author of the Safety of *Greece*; and carried on the *Athenians* to that height of Glory, that they surpass'd their Enemies in Valour, and their Friends and Confederates in Kindness and Civility.

As soon as the *Persian* Armada arrived at *Aphetae*, *Eurybiades* was astonished to see such a vast number of Vessels before him; and being informed that two hundred more sail'd about behind the Island of *Sciathus*, with a design to surround him, he immediately determined to retire farther into *Greece*, and to sail back into some part of *Peloponnesus*, where their Land Army and their Fleet might join; for he looked upon the *Persian* Forces to be altogether invincible by Sea. But the *Eubæans*, fearing that the *Greeks* would forsake them, and leave them to the Mercy of the Enemy, sent *Pelagon* to discourse privately with *Themistocles*, and with him a good Sum of Money, which he accepted, and gave it to *Eurybiades*, as *Herodotus* reports. But an *Athenian* call'd *Architeles*, who was Commander of the sacred Galley, and wanted Money to pay his Crew, opposed him in his Designs, and was for returning without Delay. For this Reason *Themistocles* so incensed his Countrymen against him, that they boarded his Ship, and took what he had provided for his Supper from him; and whilst *Architeles*, much surpris'd at this Insult, was preparing to make his Complaint, *Themistocles* sent him in a Chest a Service of all Provisions, and at the Bottom of it a Talent of Silver, desiring him to sup quietly that Night, and to provide for his Seamen and Soldiers in the Morning; if not, he would report it amongst the *Athenians*, that he had received Money from the Enemy. Thus *Phanias* the *Lesbian* relates it.

Tho' the several Engagements between the *Grecians* and the *Persians* in the Straits of *Eubæa* were not so great in the whole as to be any thing like a Determination



tion of the War; yet the Experience which the *Greeks* learn'd hereby was of great Advantage: for thus they effectually understood, that neither the Number of Ships, their Riches and Ornaments, nor the boasting Shouts or Songs of Victory used by the Barbarians, were any ways terrible to Men that dare fight, and were resolved to come hand to hand with their Enemies: these things they were to despise, and to come up close and grapple with their Foes. This the Poet *Pindarus* took notice of, and hath not ill expressed it, speaking of the Fight at *Artemisium*.

*The Sons of Athens, on that happy day,  
Open'd to glorious Liberty the way.*

For boldness and Intrepidity is the beginning of Victory. *Artemisium* is a Maritime Town, to the North of *Estiæa*, and over-against it lies *Olixon*, which is in the Territory that formerly was under *Philoctetes*, where there is a small Temple of *Diana*, by way of distinction call'd *Diana of the East*. This Temple is encompassed with a Wood inclosed with Pillars of white Marble, which if you rub with your Hands, they assume the Colour, and send forth the Smell of Saffron: In one of the Pillars, these Verses are engraved.

*Within these Seas, the brave Athenians shew  
Their matchless Valour, when they overthrew  
The numerous Nations that from Asia spring,  
And the great Navy of the Persian King:  
And Trophies won by such a glorious Fate  
To bright Diana here did consecrate.*

There is a Place still to be seen upon this Shore, where in the middle of a great heap of Sand, they take out from the bottom a dark Powder like Ashes, or something that hath passed the Fire; and here they think the Shipwrecks and Bodies of the Dead were burnt. As soon as News came from *Thermopylae* to *Artemisium*, in-  
forming

forming them that King *Leonidas* was slain, and that *Xerxes* had made himself Master of all the Passages by Land, the Fleet returned back into *Greece*, the *Athenians* having the Command of the Rear, the place of Honour and Danger, as Those who by their former Actions had testified both their Skill and Courage in War.

As *Themistocles* sail'd along the Coast, he took notice of the Harbours and Places fit for the Enemy's Ships to retire into, and ingraved large Letters in such Stones as he found there by chance, as also in Others which he set up on purpose near to the Landing-places, or where they were to Water. In these Inscriptions he required the *Ionians* to forsake the *Medes*, if it were possible, and come over to the *Greeks*, who were their ancient Founders and Progenitors, and were now hazarding All for their Liberties; but if this could not be done, then to be a hindrance and disturbance to the *Persians*, by attacking them whenever they came upon their Coast. He hoped that these Writings would prevail with the *Ionians* to revolt, or at least raise some great Disorders among them, as they would believe their Fidelity might be suspected by the *Persians*.

Now tho' *Xerxes* had already passed through *Doris*, and invaded the Country of *Phocis*, and had burnt and destroyed the Cities of the *Phocians*, yet the *Greeks* sent them no Relief; and tho' the *Athenians* earnestly desired them to oppose the *Persians* in *Boeotia*, before they could come into *Attica*, as they themselves had given Assistance to the *Greeks* by Sea at *Artemisium*; yet the *Grecians* gave no Ear to their Request, being wholly intent upon *Peloponnesus*, and resolved to gather all their Forces together within the *Isthmus*, and to build a Wall from Sea to Sea in that strait Neck of Land, which parts the *Saronick* Bay from the Gulf of *Corinth*. The *Athenians* were enraged to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time afflicted and dejected at so general a Defection. To fight alone against such a numerous Army was to no purpose, and this only Expedient was left them for the present, to leave their City, and betake themselves to

their Ships; which the People were very unwilling to hearken to, making light of Victory or their own Safety, if they were not to be had without forsaking the Temples of their Gods, and exposing the Tombs and Monuments of their Ancestors to the Fury of their Enemies. *Themistocles* being at a loss, and not able to draw the People over to his Opinion by any Human Reason, he set his Machines on work, as in a Play, and brought in his Divine Revelations, wonderful Signs, Prodigious Oracles, and mystical Answers of the Gods. The Dragon of *Minerva*, kept in the inward Part of the Temple near to her Statue, served him for a Prodigy: For *Themistocles* having gained the Priests, they gave it out to the People, *that the Dragon refused to eat, that the Offerings which were set before it were found untouched; that at last it disappear'd; that the Goddess had left the City, and taken her flight before them towards the Sea.* He often repeated to them the Oracle which had them trust to Walls of Wood, shewing them that Walls of Wood could signify nothing else but Ships; and that the Island of *Salamine* was not termed miserable or unfortunate by *Apollo*, but Divine, intimating thereby, that it should one Day be very fortunate to the Greeks. At length his Opinion prevail'd, and he obtain'd a Decree, that the City should be recommended to the Protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddess of the *Athenians*; that they who were of Age to bear Arms, should embark; and that all possible Care should be taken to save the Children, the Women, and the Slaves. This Decree being confirmed, most of the *Athenians* removed their Parents, Wives and Children to *Troezena*, where they were received very courteously; and the *Troezenians* made an Order of Council, that they should be maintained at the publick Charge, by distributing daily two *Oboli* to every one; that their Children should have leave to gather Fruit where they pleased, and their School-masters paid at the publick Charge for instructing them. This Order was made when *Nicagoras* was Register.

There

There was no publick Treasure at that time in *Athens*: But the Senate of *Areopagus* (as *Aristotle* says) distributed to every one that was list'd eight Drachmas which was a great help to the setting out of the Fleet. But *Clidemus* ascribes this to a Stratagem of *Themistocles*; who when the *Athenians* went down to the Haven of *Pirææ*, said, that the Shield wherein the Head of *Mедуsa* was engraven, was taken away from the Statue of *Minerva*: and he being employed to search for it, and ransacking in all Places, found among their Goods great Sums of Money, which he brought back for the use of the Publick; and with This the Soldiers and Seamen were well provided for their Voyage.

When the whole City of *Athens* were going on Board, it afforded a Spectacle worthy of Pity and Admiration: For who would not commiserate Those who were to leave their Country, and at the same time admire their Courage and Resolution, to see them send away their Fathers and Children before them, and not be moved with the Cries and Tears and last Embracings of their ancient Parents and nearest Relations, when they pass'd over into the Island? But That which moved Compassion most of all, was, that many old Men, by reason of their great Age, were left behind; and even the tame domestick Animals moved some Pity, running about the Town, clocking, mewling, and howling, as desirous to be carried along with their Masters that had nourished them: Among which it is reported, that *Xantippus* the Father of *Pericles* had a Dog that would not endure to stay behind, but leaped into the Sea, and swam along by the Galley's side till he came to the Island of *Salamine*, where he fainted away and died; and that Part of the Island in which he was buried is still called *The Dog's Grave*.

Among the great Actions of *Themistocles*, the return of *Aristides* was not the least; for before the War he was oppress'd by a Faction stirr'd up by *Themistocles*, and suffer'd Banishment: But now perceiving that the People regretted the absence of this great Man, and feared

that he might go over to the *Persians* to revenge himself, and thereby ruin the affairs of *Greece*, *Themistocles* proposed a Decree, that Those who were banished for a time, might return again, to give what assistance they could to the *Grecians*, both by their Counsel and Valour, with the rest of the *Athenians*.

*Eurybiades*, by reason of the Greatness of *Sparta*, was Admiral of the *Grecian* Fleet, but yet was faint-hearted in time of Danger, and willing to weigh Anchor and set Sail for the Gulf of *Corinth*, near which the Land Army lay encamped; but *Themistocles* violently opposed him, upon which happened many remarkable Passages: And when *Eurybiades* to blame his Impatience told him, That at the *Olympian Games* They that rise up before the Rest, are lashed; *Themistocles* replied, And They that are left behind are never Crowned. *Eurybiades* lifting up his Staff as if he were going to strike, *Themistocles* minding nothing but the Interest of *Greece*, cry'd, Strike if you will, but hear what I say. *Eurybiades* wondering much at his Moderation, desired him to speak, and *Themistocles* hereby brought him to a better understanding of his Affairs; but One who stood by him told him, that it did not become Those who had neither City nor House, nor any thing left to lose, to persuade Others to relinquish their Habitations, and forsake their Countries. To which *Themistocles* gave this Reply, We have indeed left our Houses and our Walls, base Fellow, not thinking it fit to become Slaves for the sake of those things that have no Life nor Soul; yet we have still a City, greater than all the Cities of *Greece*, as consisting of two hundred Gallies, which are here to defend You if you please: But if you run away and betray us, as you did once before, the *Greeks* shall soon perceive that the *Athenians* will possess as fair a Country, and as large and free a City as That already lost. These Expressions of *Themistocles* made *Eurybiades* suspect, that if he retreated, the *Athenians* would fall off from him. When one of *Eretria* began to oppose him, he said, Have you any thing to say of War, that are like an Ink-fish? you have a Sword, but



but no Heart. Some say, that while *Themistocles* was discouraging of these things upon the Deck, there was an Owl seen flying to the right Hand of the Fleet, which came and sat upon the top of the Mast. This happy Omen so far disposed the *Greeks* to follow his Advice, that they presently prepared to fight: Yet when the Enemy's Fleet was arrived at the Haven of *Phaleris* upon the Coasts of *Attica*, and with the Number of their Ships had shadowed all the Shore; and when they saw the King himself in Person come down with his Land Army to the Sea-side, with those Multitudes, and all his Forces united; then the good Counsel of *Themistocles* soon vanished, and the *Peloponnesians* cast their Eyes again towards the *Isthmus*, and took it very ill if any one spake against their returning home; and resolving to depart that Night, the Pilots had Orders what Course to steer.

*Themistocles* being highly concerned that the *Grecians* should retire, and lose the advantage of the narrow Seas and strait Passages, and slip home every one to his own City, considered with himself and contrived that Stratagem, that was carried on by *Sicinus*. This *Sicinus* was a *Persian* Captive, but a great Lover of *Themistocles*, and Tutor to his Children: upon this Occasion *Themistocles* sent him privately to *Xerxes*, commanding him to tell the King that the Admiral of the *Athenians* having espoused his Interest, had sent early to inform him, that the *Greeks* were ready to make their Escape, and that he counselled him to hinder their Flight, to set upon them while they were in this Confusion, and at a Distance from their Land Army; and hereby he might destroy all their Forces by Sea. *Xerxes* was very joyful at this Message, and received it as from One who wished all things prosperous to him; and therefore immediately issued out Instructions to the Commanders of his Ships, that they should presently set out two hundred Sail, to encompass all the Islands, and inclose all the Straits and Passages, that none of the *Greeks* might escape; and to follow with the rest of their Fleet at better leisure. This being done, *Aristides* the Son of *Lyfimachus* was the first

Man that perceived it, and went to *Themistocles* into his Cabbin ; not out of any peculiar Friendship, (for he had been formerly banished by his means, as hath been related) but to inform him how they were encompassed by their Enemies. *Themistocles* knowing the generosity of *Aristides*, and being much taken with his Visit at that time, imparted to him all that he had transacted by *Sicinus*, and intreated him, that having great Authority among the *Greeks*, he would now make use of it in joining with him to induce them to stay, and fight their Enemies in those narrow Seas. *Aristides* applauded *Themistocles*, and went to the other Commanders and Captains of the Galleys, and encouraged them to engage ; yet they did not perfectly assent to him, till a Galley of *Tenos*, which revolted from the *Persians*, whereof *Panaetius* was Commander, came into their Fleet, and confirmed the News, that all the Straits and Passages were beset ; and then their Rage and Fury, as well as Necessity, provoked them all to fight.

As soon as it was Day, *Xerxes* placed himself on high to view his Fleet, and how it was set in Order. *Phaenodemus* says, he sat upon a Promontory above the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Coast of *Attica* is separated from the Island by a narrow Channel ; but *Acestodorus* writes, that it was in the Confines of *Megara*, upon those Hills which are called the *Horns*, where he sat in a Chariot of Gold, with many Secretaries about him to put down all that should pass in the Fight.

When *Themistocles* was about to sacrifice upon the Admiral Galley, there were three very beautiful Captives brought to him, well dressed and gloriously adorned with rich Vests of Gold, said to be the Children of *Autareus* and *Sandaunce*, Sister to *Xerxes*. As soon as the Prophet *Euphrantides* saw them, and observed that at the same time the Fire blazed out from the Offerings, and cast forth a more than ordinary bright Flame, and that one sneezed to the right, which portended some fortunate Event, he took *Themistocles* by the Hand, and ordered that the three Children should be consecrated and purified

for

for Sacrifice, and offered up as a Vow for Victory to *Bacchus Omastus*, or the *Devourer*; for hereby the *Greeks* should not only save themselves, but also obtain Victory. *Themistocles* was startled at a Prophecy that carried so much Cruelty and Inhumanity in it; but the Populace, according to their manner in all pressing Difficulties, trusting more to any absurd and extravagant Methods of appeasing the Deity, than to such as are reasonable, with one Voice invoked *Bacchus*, and bringing the Captives to his Altar compelled him to perform the Sacrifice, as the Prophet had commanded. This is reported by *Phanias the Lesbian*, a great Philosopher and Historian. As to the Number of the Enemy's Ships, the Poet *Æschylus* writes in a Tragedy called *The Persians*, That to his own Knowledge *Xerxes* had a thousand Ships, of which two hundred and seven were extraordinary good Sailors. The *Athenians* had an hundred and eighty: in every Ship eighteen Men fought upon the Deck, four of whom were Archers, and the rest well armed.

As *Themistocles* had possessed the most advantageous Place, so with no less Consideration he chose the best time of Fighting; for he would not set the Sterns of his Gallies against the *Persians*, nor begin the Fight, till the time of Day was come when there constantly rises a blustering Wind from without the Bay, which brings in with it a great Sea, and makes a rough Water in the Channel. This was no Inconvenience to the *Grecian* Ships, which were low-built and strong; but so far hurtful to the *Persians*, which had high Sterns and lofty Decks, were heavy, and could not easily tack, nor feel the Rudder, that it overfet them, or laid their Sides bare to the *Grecians*, who fiercely assaulted them, strictly obeying the Orders of *Themistocles*, who well understood what was most for their advantage: and when *Ariemenes*, Admiral to *Xerxes*, a good Man, and by far the bravest and worthiest of the King's Brothers, made towards *Themistocles*, and having a great Ship, threw Darts and shot forth Arrows, as from the Walls of a Castle;

*Amenias*

*Amenias* the *Decelian*, and *Soficles* the *Pedian*, who sailed in the same Vessel, bore in and attacked him, and both Ships meeting Stem to Stem, and striking together, their sharp Stems armed with Brass pierced through one another's Ships, so that they were fastened together; when *Ariemenes* attempting to board them, *Amenias* and *Soficles* ran at him with their Pikes, and thrust him into the Sea: His Body as it floated amongst other Shipwrecks was known by *Artemisia*, and carried to *Xerxes*. It is reported that in the middle of the Fight a great Flame shined bright in the Air above the City of *Eleusis*, and that Sounds and Voices were heard through all the Plain of *Tbria* as far as the Sea, sounding like a number of Men that were going to celebrate the Mysteries of *Bacchus*; and that a Cloud of Dust seemed to rise from the Place from whence this Sound came, and passing forward fell upon the Gallies. Others affirmed that they saw Apparitions and Spirits in the Shape of armed Men, which reached out their Hands from the Island of *Agina* towards the *Grecian* Gallies, and were conjectured to be the *Æacides*, whose assistance they had implored in their Prayers before the Fight. The first Man that took a Ship was *Lycomedes* the *Athenian*, Captain of a Galley, who cut down the Ensigns of Honour that were in the Prow or the Ship, and dedicated them to *Apollo*, distinguished from others of that Name by the Laurel on his Head. And as the *Persians* fought in a narrow Arm of the Sea, and could bring but part of their Fleet to fight, they fell-foul of one another; and the *Greeks* hereby equalled them in Strength, fought with them till the Evening, forced them back, and obtained so clear and celebrated a Victory, as *Simonides* observes, that neither *Greek* nor any other Nation ever by Sea performed such glorious Service, whether we consider the Bravery of the common Seamen, or the Conduct of the Admiral.

After the Sea-fight, *Xerxes* being enraged at his ill Fortune, attempted, by casting great Heaps of Earth  
and

and Stones into the Sea, to stop up the Channel and to make a Dam, upon which he might lead his Land Forces over into the Island of *Salamine*.

*Themistocles* being desirous to know the Opinion of *Aristides*, told him, that he intended to set Sail for the *Hellepont*, to break the Bridge of Ships, whereby he might hinder the Retreat of *Xerxes*, and become Master of *Asia*, without stirring out of *Europe*: But *Aristides* being troubled at his Design, made this reply: *We have hitherto had to do with an Enemy who hath regarded little else but his Pleasure and Luxury; but if we shut him up within Greece, and drive him to necessity, he that is Lord of such great Forces, will no longer sit quietly with an Umbrella of Gold over his Head, looking upon the Fight for his Pleasure, but in such a strait will attempt every thing; he will be resolute, and appear himself in Person upon all Occasions, he will soon correct his Errors, and supply what he has formerly omitted through Remissness; and will be better advised in all things. Therefore it is no ways our Interest to take away the Bridge that is already made, but rather to build another if it were possible, that he might make his Retreat with the more Expedition.* To which *Themistocles* answered, *If this be requisite, we must immediately use all Diligence, Art and Industry, to rid ourselves of him as soon as may be:* And to this purpose he found out among the Captives one of the King of *Persia*'s Eunuchs named *Arnaeas*; whom he sent to the King, to inform him, *that the Greeks being now victorious by Sea, had decreed to sail to the Hellepont, and destroy the Bridge; but that Themistocles being passionately concerned for the King, revealed This to him, that he might hasten towards the Asiatick Seas, and pass over into his own Dominions: And in the mean time He would cause Delays, and hinder the Confederates from pursuing him. Xerxes* no sooner heard this, but being very much terrified, retreated out of *Greece* with all speed. The prudent Conduct of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, and the advantageous Management of this Affair, was afterwards more fully understood at the Battle



Battle of *Platæa*; where *Mardonius* with a very small Portion of the Forces of *Xerxes* put the *Greeks* in danger of losing all.

*Herodotus* writes, that of all the Cities of *Greece* *Ægina* perform'd the best Service in the War; in which also all Men yielded to *Themistocles*, tho' Some, out of Envy, did it unwillingly; and when the *Greeks* returned to the Entrance of *Peloponnesus*, where the Officers deliver'd their Suffrages inscrib'd on Billets taken from the Altar to determine who was most worthy, every one gave the first Vote for himself, and the second for *Themistocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* carry'd Him with them to *Sparta*; where giving the Rewards of Valour to *Eurybiades*, and of Wisdom and Conduct to *Themistocles*, they crown'd him with Olive, gave him Precedency, presented him with the richest Car in the City, and sent three hundred young Men to accompany him to the Confines of their Country: And at the next *Olympian Games*, when *Themistocles* entred the Place where those Exercises were performed, the Spectators took no further notice of Those who strove for Mastery, but spent the whole Day in looking upon him, shewing him to the Strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their Hands, and all other Expressions of Joy; which so delighted him, that he confessed to his Friends, that he then reaped the Fruit of all his Labours for the *Greeks*. He was in his own Nature a great Lover of Honour, as is Evident from those Things which are recorded of him. When he was chosen Admiral by the *Athenians*, he ended no Business fully, publick nor private, but deferred all till the Day they were to sail, that dispatching much business together, and having to do with all sorts of Men, he might appear to be a Man of uncommon Abilities. Viewing the dead Bodies cast up by the Sea, he perceived Collars and Chains of Gold about them; yet passed on, only shewing them to a Friend that followed him, saying, *Take you these things, for you are not Themistocles*. He said to *Antipbates*, who had been a very handsom young

young Fellow, and who in those days had behaved himself haughtily towards him, but now in his Glory obsequiously waited on him, *Young Man, we have both of us found our Mistake at the same time, tho' a little of the latest.* He said that the *Athenians* did not honour him, or admire him, but when they were in Danger they sheltered themselves under him, as they do in stormy foul Weather under a Plane-tree; and when they have fair Weather again, they pull off its Leaves and Fruit, and cut down its fairest Branches. A *Seriphian* telling him that he had not obtained this Honour by himself, but by the greatness and Splendor of his City, he replied, *You speak truth, for I should never have been esteemed if I had been of Seriphus; nor would you have come to anything though you had been of Athens.* A Commander of the Army who thought he had performed considerable Service for the *Athenians*, boasting, and comparing his Actions with those of *Themistocles*, he repeated to him this Fable, *One Day Festival* and her Neighbour *the Morrow* had a dispute, *the Morrow* complain'd that he had not a moment's leisure but was quite oppress'd with Trouble and Fatigue, while *Festival* never did any thing but debauch the whole World; who the Moment she appear'd thought of nothing but Diversions, and squandering their layings-up. *Festival* answer'd, *This was very true, but I have to say for myself, that if I had not come before, you had not been at all; so if Themistocles had not been before you, where had you been now?* Laughing at his own Son, who was somewhat too bold through the Indulgence and Fondness of his Mother, he told him that he had the most Power of any one in Greece; for *the Athenians command the rest of Greece, I command the Athenians, your Mother, commands me, and you command your Mother.* Loving to be singular in all things, when he had Land to sell, he ordered the Crier to give notice that there were good Neighbours near it. Of Two who made Love to his Daughter he preferred the Virtuous before the Rich, saying, *He desired a Man without Riches, rather than Riches without a Man;* with many such Expressions.

After

After these things he began to build and wall the City of *Athens*, having with Money corrupted the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, and persuaded them not to be against it, as *Theopompus* reports; but as most relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them: for being chosen by the *Athenians* to go on an Embassy to *Sparta*, he went thither, where the *Lacedæmonians* accusing him for rebuilding the Walls of the City of *Athens*, and *Poliarchus* being sent on purpose from *Ægina* to plead against him, he denied the Fact, advising them to send to *Athens* to see whether it were so or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the Wall, and persuaded the *Athenians* to seize upon Those who were sent, and keep them as Hostages for him. When the *Lacedæmonians* knew the Truth, they did him no hurt, but hiding their Anger for the present, sent him away.

After this, considering the great Advantage of good Ports, he fortified the Haven of *Piræus*, and joined the whole City to the Sea, which was directly contrary to the Policy of the old Kings of *Athens*; who endeavouring to withdraw their Subjects from the Sea and the Care of maritime Affairs, and to accustom them to live by Planting and Tilling the Earth, published the Discourse between *Minerva* and *Neptune*, and how they contended for the Patronage of the *Athenians*, when *Minerva* by shewing to the Judges an Olive-Tree, was declared to be their Tutelary Goddess: but *Themistocles* did not join the Haven of *Piræus* to the City, as the Poet *Aristophanes* observes, but he joined the City to the Haven, and the Land to the Sea, which increased the Power of the People against the Nobility, the Authority coming into the Hands of Watermen, Mariners and Masters of Ships; and ordered, that the Pulpit built in the Place called *Pnyx*, for publick Orations, should be placed towards the Sea, which the thirty Tyrants afterwards turned towards the Land: supposing that great Power by Sea would give Life and Encouragement to a popular Government; but that Labourers and Husbandmen would be less offended at the Greatness of the Nobility. But

*Themistocles*

*Themistocles* had still greater Designs for augmenting their Naval Strength; for after the Departure of *Xerxes*, when the *Grecian* Fleet was arriv'd at *Pagasa*, where they wintered, *Themistocles*, in a publick Oration to the People of *Athens*, telling them, that he had a Design to perform something that would be very beneficial and advantageous to the *Athenians*, but that it was of such a nature, that it could not be made publick, or communicated to the People in general; the *Athenians* ordered him to impart it to *Aristides* only; and if He approv'd of it, to put it in Practice; And when *Themistocles* had discover'd to him that his Design was to burn the *Grecian* Fleet in the Haven of *Pagasa*; *Aristides* coming out to the People, gave this report of the Stratagem contrived by *Themistocles*, that there was nothing more advantageous, nor could any thing conduce more to the Prosperity and Grandeur of *Athens* than This, but withal that it would be the most unjust Action in the World: at which the *Athenians* commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention, and to think no farther of it.

When the *Lacedæmonians* propos'd to the General Council of the *Amphietyonians*, that the Representatives of those Cities which were not in the League, nor had fought together against the *Persians*, should be excluded out of that Assembly; *Themistocles* fearing that the *Thessalians*, with Those of *Thebes*, *Argos* and Others, being thrown out of the Council, the *Lacedæmonians* would become wholly Masters of the Votes, and act what they pleas'd; he applied himself to the Deputies of the Cities, and prevail'd with the Members then sitting to alter their Opinions in this Point, remonstrating to them that there were but one and thirty Cities which did partake of the War, and that most of These also were very small; and how intolerable it would be, if the rest of *Greece* should be excluded, and that this August Council should come to be ruled by two or three great Cities. By This he chiefly incurred the high displeasure and hatred of the *Lacedæmonians*, who after-

wards used all their Interest for the advancement of *Cimon*, that he might be a Rival to *Themistocles* in all Affairs of State.

He was also burdensom to the Confederates, failing about the Islands, and collecting Money from them. *Herodotus* says, that requiring Money of Those of the Island of *Andros*, he told them, that he had brought with him two Goddeses, *Persuasion* and *Force*; and they answered him, that they had also two great Goddeses which prohibited them from giving him any Money, *Poverty* and *Impossibility*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet reprehends him somewhat bitterly, for being wrought upon by Money, to let Those that were banished return, and for betraying Him who had been his Guest and Friend. The Verses are these:

*You may the Honour of Pausanias raise,  
Leutychides, or else Xantippus praise :  
Of Aristides I'll display the Fame,  
The best Man e'er from mighty Athens came.  
The false dark Deeds of base Themistocles  
Can never the divine Latona please :  
His Friend and Guest, Timocreon, for Gain,  
A Prisoner here be basely doth detain.  
To get three Talents Some he does recal,  
Banishes, murders Others, laughs at All ;  
While with his Bags well fill'd he may carouse,  
And in the Isthmus keep an open House.  
Yet there doth such cold Entertainment give,  
His Guests oft wish him not an Hour to live.*

But after the Sentence and Banishment of *Themistocles*, *Timocreon* reviles him more excessively and more reproachfully, in a Poem which begins thus :

*Muses, convey the Echo of my Verse,  
And what I write continually rehearse ;  
'Tis requisite that This you should disperse  
All over Greece, and through the Universe.*



It is reported that when it was put to the question, whether *Timocreon* should be banished for siding with the *Persians*, *Themistocles* gave his Vote against him; and when *Themistocles* was accused for treating with the *Medes*, *Timocreon* made these Verses upon him.

*Timocreon now is not the only Man  
Hath sworn Allegiance to the Persian.  
Others are faulty, nay the Greatest fail;  
He's not the only Fox without a Tail.*

And when the Citizens of *Athens* began to hearken willingly to Those who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great Services he had performed, and asked Those who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving Benefits often from the same Person; whereby he rendered himself more odious: but he more highly incensed the People, and accumulated their Hatred towards him, when laying the Foundation of the Temple of *Diana*, he named it *Aristoboule*, or *Diana of the best Counsel*; intimating thereby, that he had given the best Counsel not only to the *Athenians*, but to all *Greece*. He built this Temple near to his own House, in a Place called *Melita*, where now the Hangmen carry out the Bodies of such as are executed, and throw the Halters and Clothes of Those that are strangled, or otherwise put to death. There is to this day a Statue of *Themistocles* in the Temple of *Diana*, called *Aristoboule*, or *of the best Counsel*, which represents him to be a Person not only of a noble Mind, but also of an Aspect that speaks the Heroe. At length the *Athenians* banished him, making use of the Ostracism to depress his great Worth, Eminence and Authority, as they ordinarily did to all Those whom they thought too powerful, or in a Capacity to oppress them; or by their Greatness were become disproportionate to that Equality which was thought requisite in a popular Government. For the Ostracism was instituted not so much to punish the Offender, as

to mitigate and pacify the Fury of the Envious, who delighted to depress Those who were transcendent in Eminence and Glory: and by fixing this Disgrace upon them, they exhaled part of the venomous Rancour of their Minds.

*Themistocles* being banished from *Athens*, while he stayed at *Argos* the Trial of *Pausanias* happened, which gave such Advantage to his Enemies, that *Leobotes* of *Agraula* Son of *Alcmaeon* indited him of Treason; the *Spartans* joining with him in the Accusation.

When *Pausanias* first engaged in this treasonable Design, he concealed it from *Themistocles*, tho' he was his intimate Friend: but when he saw him expelled out of the Commonwealth, and how impatiently he took his Banishment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and desired his assistance, shewing him the King of *Persia's* Letters, and exasperating him against the *Greeks*, as a cursed and ungrateful People. However *Themistocles* immediately rejected the Proposals of *Pausanias* and wholly refus'd to be a Party in the Enterprize, tho' he never reveal'd those Discourses, nor discovered the Conspiracy to any Man; either expecting that it would be discovered by other Means, or hoping that *Pausanias* would desist from his Intentions, seeing that he attempted without due consideration things that were absurd, dangerous, and that could not be put in practice.

After that *Pausanias* was put to Death, Letters and Writings being found concerning this Matter, which rendred *Themistocles* suspected, the *Lacedamonians* were clamorous against him, and the envious *Athenians* accused him; when being absent from *Athens*, he made his Defence by Letters, especially against the chief Accusations; and wrote to the *Athenians* in answer to the malicious Detractions of his Enemies, urging the Improbability that One who was always known to be desirous of governing, and no ways formed by Nature or Inclination for Slavery, should deliver up Himself and his Country into the Hands of Barbarians, that were mortal Enemies to Both.

Not:

## THE MISTOCLES. 29

Notwithstanding this, the People being persuaded by his Accusers, sent Officers to take him, and bring him away to be tried before the great Council of the *Greeks*; but having timely Notice of it, he passed over into the Island of *Corcyra*, the chief City of the Island having received great Obligations from him; for being made Judge of a Difference between Them and the *Corinthians*, he determined the Controversy, ordering the *Corinthians* to lay down twenty Talents, and that the Town and Island of *Leucas* should be equally inhabited by a Colony sent from both Cities. From thence he fled into *Epirus*, and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* still pursuing him, he plung'd himself into such intricate Difficulties, that he had small Hopes ever to escape; for he fled for Refuge to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, who having formerly made a Request to the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* was in the Height of his Authority with them, had met with so rude and disdainful a Denial, that 'twas plain enough that King had hitherto only waited for an Opportunity of being reveng'd. Yet in this Misfortune, *Themistocles* fearing the fresh Hatred of his Neighbours and Fellow-Citizens, more than the Displeasure of the King, which Time might have abated, he chose to become an humble Suppliant to *Admetus* and that after a peculiar manner, different from the Custom of all other Countries. For holding the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, he prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; This being the most sacred manner of Supplication among the *Molossians*, and which rarely met with a Denial. Some say that Queen *Phibia* inform'd *Themistocles* of this way of petitioning, and plac'd her young Son near to him, before the Figures of their domestical Deities: Others say that King *Admetus*, that he might be under a religious Obligation not to deliver him up to Those who persecuted him, helped him to act that Part, and instructed him in this solemn Rite. At that time *Epicrates* of *Acarnania* privately conveyed his Wife and Children out of *Athens*,

and sent them hither, for which afterwards *Cimon* condemned him, and put him to Death, as *Stesimbrotus* reports: yet either forgetting This, or making *Themistocles* to be little mindful of it, he says he sailed into Sicily, and desired in Marriage the Daughter of *Hiero* the Tyrant, promising to bring the *Greeks* under his Power; and *Hiero* refusing him, he departed from thence into Asia. But This is not probable; for *Theophrastus* writes in his History of Kings, that when *Hiero* sent Race-Horses to the *Olympian Games*, and erected a Royal Tent richly furnished, *Themistocles* made an Oration to the *Greeks*, inciting them to pull down the Tyrant's Tent, and not to suffer his Horses to run. *Thucydides* says, that passing over Land to the *Aegean Sea*, he took Ship at *Pidna* in the Bay of *Therme*, not being known to any one in the Ship; till being terrified to see the Vessel driven by the Winds near to *Naxos*, which was then besieged by the *Athenians*, he made himself known to the Master and Pilot; and sometimes intreating them, at other times threatening them, that if they went on Shore, he would accuse them, and induce the *Athenians* to believe, that they did not take him in out of Ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with Money from the beginning, he compelled them to bear off, and stand out to Sea, and sail forward towards the Coasts of Asia.

A great Part of his Estate was privately conveyed away by his Friends, and sent after him by Sea into Asia; besides which, there was discovered and confiscated to the Value of fourscore Talents, as *Themistocles* writes: *Theopompus* says an hundred: whereas *Themistocles* was never worth three Talents before he was concerned in the Publick.

When he arrived at *Cuma*, and understood that all along the Coast there were Many laid wait for him, and particularly *Ergoteles* and *Pythodorus* (for the Game was worth the hunting after by such as pursued *Gaia* every where, the King of *Persia* having offered by publick Proclamation two hundred Talents to Him that should

should take him) he fled to *Æges* a small City of the *Æolians*, where no one knew him but only his Host *Nicogenes*, who was the richest Man in *Æolia*, and well known in the Court of *Persia*. Whilst *Themistocles* lay hid for some Days in his House, one Night after a sacrificial Feast, *Olbius*, Schoolmaster to *Nicogenes's* Children, fell frantick and inspired, and cried out in Verse,

*This Night instructs in mystick Dreams and Charms,  
How t' use thy Parts and ever-conquering Arms.*

After this, *Themistocles* dream'd that a Dragon coiled itself round his Belly, and creeping up to his Neck, as soon as it touched his Face, it was turned into an Eagle; which spread its Wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him into Countries far remote, where a golden Scepter appeared to him, upon which he rested himself securely, freed from all Fear and Trouble: *Nicogenes* therefore made use of this Invention to convey him from his House in Safety.

The barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially, are naturally jealous, clownish, and morose toward their Women, not only to their Wives, but also to their Slaves and Concubines, whom they keep so strictly that never any one sees them abroad; even at their Meals they are shut up within Doors; and when they take a Journey, they are carried in close Coaches, or put under a little Tent or Covering shut close on all sides, and set upon a Waggon. Such a travelling Carriage being prepared for *Themistocles*, they hid him in it, and carried him on his Journey; and told Those whom they met or discoursed with upon the Road, that they carried a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionian* to a Nobleman at Court.

*Thucydides* and *Charon* of *Lampsacus* report, that *Xerxes* being dead, *Themistocles* came to Court just at the time when *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes* was upon the Throne: but *Ephorus*, *Deinon*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many Others write, that he found *Xerxes* alive.



alive. The Opinion of *Thucydides* agrees best with the chronological Tables, if Those may be safely relied upon.

*Themistocles*, sensible of the extreme Difficulties into which he had thrown himself, applied first to *Artabanus*, Commander of a thousand Men, telling him, that he was a *Grecian*, and desired to speak with the King about some important Affairs, which the King had much at Heart. *Artabanus* answered him, Stranger, the *Laws* of Men are different, and Some esteem one thing honourable and Some Another; but it is honourable for all Men to observe and commend the *Laws* of their own Country: it is allowable for you *Grecians* to admire Liberty and Equality, but amongst our many excellent *Laws*, we account This the most glorious, to honour the King, and to worship him, as the Image of that great Deity that preserves and protects the Universe: and if you can accustom yourself to our *Laws*, and fall down before the King and worship him, you may both see him and speak to him; but if your Mind be otherwise, you must make use of others to intercede for you: for it is not the national Custom here, for the King to give Audience to any one that doth not fall down before him. *Themistocles* hearing this, replied, *Artabanus*, I that come hither to increase the Power and Glory of the King, will not only submit myself to his *Laws*, since it hath pleased God to raise the Persian Empire to this greatness, but will also cause many more to be Worshippers and Adorers of the King; let not This therefore be an Impediment, why I should not communicate to his Majesty what I have to impart. *Artabanus* asking him who must we tell him that you are? for you seem to be no ordinary Person; *Themistocles* answered, No Man must be informed of This before the King himself. Thus *Phanias* relates it; to which *Eratosthenes* in his Treatise of Riches, adds, That by the Means of a Woman of *Eretria*, who was kept by *Artabanus*, he was brought acquainted with him, and obtained this favour from him.

When he was introduced to the King, and had paid his due Reverence to him, he stood silent, till *Xerxes* commanding

commanding the Interpreter to ask him who he was, he replied, *I am Themistocles the Athenian, banish'd and persecuted by the Greeks; I fly to Thee for Refuge, mighty Monarch: the Evils I have done to the Persians are easily to be forgiven, in Consideration of the many Achievements perform'd for them, when I hindred the Grecians from pursuing the Medes after the fatal Battles of Salamis and Plataea; when having freed my Country, and placed the Greeks in safety, my Ambition led me on to greater Enterprizes; in which being successful, I gratified the far-extended Persian Empire, and perform'd Services acceptable to the greatest Prince on Earth: Since which all things having conspired to augment my present Calamities, suitable to such a Condition, I come hither, hoping to receive Mercy from a gracious reconciled Sovereign, who hath laid aside his Anger, and is no longer mindful of former Evils; humbly imploring you, that taking the Greeks for Witnesses of the Services I have done for Persia, you will make use of this occasion to shew the World the Nobleness of your Virtue, rather than the Greatness of your Resentment. Hereby you will preserve an humble Suppliant; if otherwise, you destroy a Servant of the Persians, and a publick Enemy of the Greeks.* Besides This, he related the Manner of the Vision, which he saw at Nicogene's House, and what was directed him by the Oracle of Dodona, where Jupiter commanded him to go to Him that had a Name like his; by which he understood, that he was sent from Jupiter to Xerxes, seeing that they had both the Name of Mighty Kings: and he knew no other great sacred Powers but Jupiter, and the Persian Emperor.

The King heard him attentively, and tho' he admired his Understanding and Courage, gave him no answer at that time; but when he was with his intimate Friends, he rejoiced in his great good Fortune, and esteemed himself very happy in this, and prayed to his God *Arimanius*, that all his Enemies might be ever of the same Mind with the Greeks, to provoke, abuse, and expel the bravest Men amongst them. Then he sacrificed

sacrificed to the Gods, and presently fell to drinking; and was so well pleased, that in the Night, in the middle of his Sleep, he cried out for Joy three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian!*

In the morning, *Xerxes* calling together the chief of his Court, had *Themistocles* brought before him, who expected no good would come of it, especially when he saw the Guards were fiercely set against him as soon as they knew his Name, and gave him ill Language: and as he came forward towards the King, who was set down, and the rest kept silence, passing by *Roxanes* a Commander of a thousand Men, he heard him sigh and whisper softly to him without stirring out of his place, *Thou subtle Greek Serpent, the King's good Genius hath brought thee hither.* Yet when he came into the Presence, and fell down, the King saluted him, and spake to him kindly, telling him, he was now indebted to him two hundred Talents; for it was just and reasonable that He should receive the Reward which was proposed to Whosoever should bring *Themistocles*: and promising much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to speak freely what he had to say concerning the Affairs of *Greece*. *Themistocles* replied, that a Man's Discourse was like to a rich *Persian* Carpet variously wrought and figured, the beautiful Images and proper Figures of which are best represented when they are clearly and fairly opened; but when they are contracted and folded up, they are obscured and lost: and therefore he desired time to learn the Language perfectly, in which he was to express his Mind, and unfold his secret Services. The King being pleased with the Comparison, and bidding him take what time he would, he desired a Year; in which time having learnt the *Persian* Language sufficiently, he spake with the King by Himself without the help of an Interpreter: And Those who were at a Distance, thought that he discoursed only about the Affairs of *Greece*. But there happening at the same time great Alterations at Court, and removals of the King's Favourites, he drew upon himself

himself the Envy of the Great ones; who imagined, that he who had this great liberty might take the boldness to speak many things concerning Them: For the Favours shewn to other Strangers were nothing in comparison of the Honours conferred on Him; the King inviting him to partake of his own Pastimes and Recreations both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a Hunting, and making him his Intimate so far, as to permit him not only to come into the Presence of the Queen Mother, but also to wait upon her often, and converse familiarly with her: And besides this, he heard the Discourses of the Magicians, by the King's especial Command; and was instructed in the secret Philosophy and Magick of the *Persians*.

When *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, being ordered by the King to ask whatsoever he pleased, and it should immediately be granted him, desired the Royal Diadem, and that being lifted up on high he might make his publick Entrance, and be carried in state through the City of *Sardis* with the Imperial Crown of *Persia* upon his Head, after the manner of Kings; *Mitropauses*, Nephew to *Xerxes*, taking him by the hand, told him that he had no Brains for the Royal Diadem to cover; and if *Jupiter* should give him his Lightning and Thunder, he would be ne'er the more *Jupiter* for That. The King also repulsed him with scorn and anger, resolving never to be reconciled to him, but to be inexorable to all Supplications on his behalf; yet *Themistocles* pacified him, and prevail'd with him to forgive him. And it is reported that the succeeding Kings, in whose Reigns there was a greater communication between the *Greeks* and *Persians* than formerly, when they invited any considerable *Grecian* into their Service, to encourage him, they would signify to him by Letters, that he should be as great with them as *Themistocles* was with *Xerxes*. They relate also how *Themistocles* when he was in great Prosperity, and courted by Many, seeing himself splendidly served at his Table, he turned to his Children and said, *Children, we had*  
*been*

been undone, if we had not been undone. Most Writers say, that he had three Cities given him, *Magnesia*, *Myus*, and *Lampsacus*, to maintain him in Bread, Meat and Wine. *Neantes* of *Cyzicus* and *Phanias* add two more, the City of *Percotes* to provide him with Clothes, and *Palæscopsis* with Bedding and Furniture for his House.

As he went down towards the Sea-side to provide against the attempts and practices of the *Greeks*, a *Perfian*, whose name was *Epixyes*, Governor of the upper *Phrygia*, laid wait to kill him; having for that purpose provided a long time before a crew of *Pisidian* Murderers, who were to set upon him when he came to reside in a City that is called *Lyon's-head*. But *Themistocles* sleeping in the middle of the Day, the Mother of the Gods appeared to him in a Dream, and said unto him, *Themistocles, never come at the Lion's-Head, for fear you fall into the Lion's Jaws; for this advice I expect, that your Daughter Mnesiptolema should be my Servant.* *Themistocles* was much astonished, and when he had poured forth his Prayers, and made his Vows to the Goddess, he left the great Road, and taking a Compass about, went another way, changing his intended station to avoid that Place, and at Night took up his rest beyond it; but one of the Sumpter-horses which carried part of the Furniture for his Tent, having fallen that day into a River, his Servants spread out the Tapestry which was wet, and hanged it up to dry. In the mean time the *Pisidians* made towards them with their Swords drawn, and not discerning exactly by the Moon what it was that was stretched out to be dried, they thought it was the Tent of *Themistocles*, and that they should find him resting himself within it; but when they came nigh, and lifted up the Hangings, Those who watched there fell upon them and took them. *Themistocles* having escaped this great danger, was in admiration of the goodness of the Goddess that appeared to him; and in memory of it he built a Temple in the City of *Magnesia*, which he dedicated to *Cybele Dyndimene* Mother of the Gods, wherein he con-

secrated



er service.

When he came to *Sardis*, he visited the Temples of the Gods; and observing at his leisure their Buildings, Ornaments, and the number of their Offerings, he saw in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods the Statue of a Virgin in Brass two Cubits high, called *the Water-bringer*, or She that brought the Water back again into its right Channel. *Themistocles* had caused this statue to be made and set up when he was Surveyor of the *Aqueducts* at *Athens*, out of the Fines and Forfeitures of Those, whom he had discovered to have taken away the Water, or to have turned it out of its due course, by other Pipes fitted for their private use: And whether he had some regret to see this fair Image in Captivity, and the Statue of a *Grecian* Virgin kept prisoner in *Asia*; or whether he was desirous to let the *Athenians* see in what great Credit he was with the King, and what Authority he had in all the *Persian* Affairs, he entered into discourse with the Governor of *Lydia*, to persuade him to send this Statue back to *Athens*; which so enraged the *Persian* Officer, that he told him, he would write the King word of it. *Themistocles* being affrighted hereat, got access to his Wives and Concubines, whom he gained with Money, and by their means mitigated the fury of the Governor; and afterwards carried himself more reservedly and circumspectly, fearing the envy of the *Persians*, and gave over travelling about *Asia*, and lived quietly in his own House in *Magnesia*, where for a long time he passed his Days in great security, as *Theopompus* writes; being courted by All, and presented with rich Gifts, and honoured equally with the greatest Persons in the *Persian* Empire: the King at that time not minding his concerns with *Greece*, being incessantly busied about the Affairs of the upper Provinces.

But upon Advice that *Egypt* assisted by the *Athenians* had revolted, and that the *Grecian* Gallies roved about as far as *Cyprus* and *Cilicia*, and that *Cimon* had made himself Master of the Seas, the King bending his mind

chiefly to resist the *Grecians*, and put a stop to the Growth of their Power, rais'd Forces, sent out Commanders, and dispatched Messengers to *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, to put him in mind of his promise, and to incense and irritate him against the *Greeks*. Yet This did not increase his hatred, nor exasperate him against the *Athenians*; neither was he any ways elevated with the thoughts of the Honour and powerful Command he was to have in this War: but either imagining this Undertaking could not prosperously be carried on, nor the King easily compass his Designs, the *Greeks* having at that time great Commanders, and amongst them *Cimon* wonderfully successful in the affairs of *Greece*; or chiefly being ashamed to sully the Glory of his former great Actions, and of his many Victories and Trophies, he generously determined to put a Conclusion to his Days suitable to his former great Deeds, and to make an End agreeable to the whole Course of his Life. He sacrificed to the Gods, and invited his Friends; and having kindly entertained them, and shaken hands with them, he drank Bulls Blood, as the general Report goes: but Some say he took Poison, which dispatched him in a short time, and ended his Days in the City of *Magnesia*, having lived sixty five Years, most of which he had spent in the State and in the Wars, in governing of Countries and commanding of Armies. The King being informed of the cause and manner of his Death, admired him more than ever, and continued to shew kindness to his Friends and Relations.

*Themistocles* left three Sons by *Archippa*, Daughter to *Lylander* of *Alopece*; *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*. *Plato* the Philosopher mentions the latter as a most excellent Horseman; but relates nothing else of him worthy of memory: Of his eldest Sons *Neocles* and *Diocles*, *Neocles* died when he was young by the bite of a Horse, and *Diocles* was adopted by his Grandfather *Lylander* to be his Heir. He had many Daughters, of which *Mnesiptolema*, whom he had by a second Marriage, was Wife to *Archeptolis*, her Brother-in-law by another Mother; *Italia* was married to *Panthides* of the Island

of Scio; Sybaris to *Nicomedes* the *Athenian*. After the Death of *Themistocles*, his Nephew *Phrafcles* set sail for *Magnesia*, and married his Daughter *Nicomachia*, receiving her from the hands of her Brothers; and brought up her Sister *Asia*, the youngest of all the Children.

The *Magnesians* possess the splendid Sepulchre of *Themistocles*, placed in the middle of their great Piazza: and it is not worth the taking notice of what *Andocides* writes to his Friends, concerning the Relicks of *Themistocles*; how the *Athenians* robbed his Tomb, and threw his Ashes into the Air; for he feigns This to exasperate the Nobility against the People; and there is no Man living, but knows that *Phylarchus* is mistaken in his History, where he brings in I know not what *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for the Sons of *Themistocles*, to incite or move compassion, as if he were writing a Tragedy. Yet *Diodorus* the Cosmographer writes in his Book of Sepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledge, that near to the Haven of *Piræa*, (where the Land runs out like an Elbow from the Promontory of *Alcimus*, and when you have doubled the Cape, and passed inward where the Sea is always calm) there is a vast Foundation, and upon this the Tomb of *Themistocles* in the shape of an Altar; and *Plato* the Comedian seems to confirm This in these Verses.

*Thy Tomb is fairly placed on the Strand,  
Where Merchants from all Parts may pass or land;  
Where Ships from every quarter come in fight,  
And may engage in many a bloody Fight:  
So that thy Ashes placed on the Shore,  
Both Sea and Land, may honour and adore.*

Divers Honours also and Privileges were granted to the Kindred of *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, which were observed down to our times. There was One of his Name an *Athenian* that enjoyed them in my time, with whom I had a particular Acquaintance and Friendship in the House of *Ammonius* the Philosopher.

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THE  
L I F E  
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F. C A M I L L U S.

MONG the many remarkable things that are related of *Furlus Camillus*, This above all seems most singular and strange, that He who for the most part was in the highest Commands, and had performed the greatest Actions, was five times chosen Dictator, triumph'd four times, and was stiled a *Second Founder* of Rome, yet never was so much as once Consul. The reason whereof was the State and Temper of the then Commonwealth; for the People being at dissension with the Senate, stily refused to return Consuls, but in their stead elected other Magistrates called *Military Tribunes*, who tho' they acted every thing with full Consular Power and Authority, yet their Government was less grievous to the People, by reason they were more in Number: For to have the management of Affairs intrusted in the Hands of six Persons rather than two, was some ease and

and satisfaction to Those who could not endure the Dominion of a few. This was the Condition of the Times when *Camillus* flourish'd in the height of his Actions and Glory; and altho' the Government in the mean time had often had Assemblies, wherein they might have proceeded to Consular Elections, yet he could never persuade himself to be Consul, against the Good-will and Inclination of the People. In all other his Administrations, which were many and various, he so behaved himself, that when he was alone in Authority, his Power was exercised as in common, but the Honour of all Actions redounded entirely to himself, even when in joint Commission with Others; the reason of the former was his Moderation, commanding without Pride or Insolence; of the latter, his great Judgment and Wisdom, wherein without question he excelled all Others. And whereas the House of the *Furii* was not at that time of any considerable Quality, He was the first that raised himself to Honour, serving under *Posthumius Tubertus*, Dictator, in the great Battle against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. For riding out from the rest of the Army, and in the charge receiving a Wound in his Thigh, He for all that gave not over the Fight, but plucking out the Dart that stuck close in the Wound, and engaging with the bravest of the Enemy, he put them to Flight: for which Action, among other Rewards bestowed on him, he was created Censor, an Office in those Days of great Esteem and Authority. During his Censorship one very good Act of His is recorded, that whereas the Wars had made many Widows, he obliged such as had no Wives, Some by fair persuasion, Others by threatening to set Fines on their Heads, to take them in Marriage. Another necessary one, was causing Orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from Taxes; the frequent and chargeable Wars requiring more than ordinary expences to maintain them. But That which pinched them most was the Siege of *Veii*, (Some call the Inhabitants *Veientani*.) This was the head City of *Tuscany*, not inferior to

*Rome*, either for the Quantity of Arms or Number of Soldiers it could furnish; presuming too on her Wealth and Magnificence, priding herself in the variety of Pleasures she enjoyed, she had fought many a fair Battle with the *Romans*, contending for Glory and Empire. But now she had quitted her former Ambition, having been weakned and brought low in many notable Encounters; so that her Inhabitants having fortified themselves with high and strong Walls, and furnished the City with all sorts of Weapons offensive and defensive, as likewise with Corn and all manner of Provisions, they chearfully endured the Siege, which, tho' tedious to them, was no less troublesome and vexatious to the Besiegers. For the *Romans* having never been accustomed to keep the Field but in Summer time, and constantly to winter at home, they were then first compelled by the Tribunes to build Forts and Garrisons in the Enemy's Country; and raising strong Works about their Camp, to join Winter and Summer together. And now the seventh Year of the War drawing to an end, the Commanders began to be suspected as too slow and remiss in carrying on the Siege, insomuch that they were discharged, and others chosen for the War, among Whom was *Camillus*, then second time Tribune. But at present he had no hand in the Siege, his lot being to make War upon the *Falisci* and *Capenates*; who taking Advantage of the *Romans* being busied on all hands, had much spoiled their Country, and through all the *Tuscan* War given them sore Diversions, but were now reduced by *Camillus*, and with great losses shut up within their Walls.

And now in the very heat of the War an accident happened to the *Alban* Lake, no less wonderful than the most incredible things that are reported; and by reason no visible Cause could be assigned, or any natural Beginning whereto to ascribe it, it became Matter of great amazement. It was the beginning of *Autumn*, and the Summer before had neither been very rainy, nor in appearance over troubled with Southern Winds; and

and of the many Lakes, Brooks, and Springs of all sorts wherein *Italy* abounds, some were wholly dried up, others drew very little Water with them. But all the Rivers, as they constantly used in Summer, ran in a very low and hollow Channel; but the *Alban* Lake, that is fed by no other Waters but its own, being entirely compassed about with lofty or large Mountains, without any Cause, unless it were Divine, began visibly to rise and swell, increasing to the Feet of the Mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent tossing, or agitation of its Waves. At first it was the Wonder of Shepherds and Herdsmen only; but when the Earth, which like a great Dam held up the Lake from falling into the lower Grounds, by the quantity and weight of Water was broken down, and the Water in a violent stream ran through the plow'd Fields and Plantations, to discharge itself into the Sea, it did not only strike Terror into the *Romans*, but was thought by all the Inhabitants of *Italy* to portend some extraordinary Events. But the greatest talk of it was in the Camp before *Veii*, when once this accident of the Lake came to be known among them; and as in long Sieges it is usual for Parties of both sides to meet and converse with one another, it happen'd that a *Roman* had gained much confidence and familiarity with One of the besieged, a Man well versed in ancient Learning, and who had the Reputation of more than ordinary skill in Divination. The *Roman* observing him to be overjoyed at the Story of the Lake, and to mock at the Siege, told him This was not the only Prodigy that of late had happened to the *Romans*, but that others more wonderful than this had befallen them, which he was willing to communicate to Him, that he might the better provide for his private Affairs in these publick Distempers. The Man greedily embrac'd the motion, expecting to hear some wonderful Secrets: But when by little and little he had drill'd him on in Discourse, and insensibly drawn him a good way from the Gates of the City, he snatch'd him

him up by the middle, being stronger than He, and by the assistance of Others that came running from the Camp, seized and deliver'd him to the Commanders. The Man reduced to this necessity, and knowing that Destiny is not to be avoided, discovered to them what the Oracles had declared concerning the Fate of his Country; that it was not possible the City should be taken, until the *Alban Lake*, which now broke forth and had found new Passages, was drawn back from that Course, and so diverted, that it could not mingle with the Sea. The Senate having heard and deliberated of the Matter, decreed to send to *Delpbos* to ask Counsel of *that God*: The Messengers were Persons of the greatest Quality, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*; who having made their Voyage by Sea, and consulted the God, returned with some other Answers, particularly, *that there had been a neglect of some of their Country Rites relating to the Latin Feasts*. As for the *Alban Water*, the Oracle commanded, that, if it was possible, they should draw it from the Sea, and shut it up in its ancient Bounds; but if That was not to be done, they should bring it down into Ditches and Trenches in the lower ground, and so dry it up. Which Message being delivered, the Priests performed what related to the Sacrifices, and the People went to work, and turned the Water.

And now the Senate in the tenth Year of the War, taking away all other Commands, created *Camillus* Dictator, who chose *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horse; and in the first place he made Vows unto the Gods, that if they would grant a happy conclusion of that War, he would celebrate to their Honour the *great Sports*, and rebuild the Temple of the Goddesses whom the Romans call *Matuta the Mother*; the same with *Leucothoe*, if a Judgment may be made of it from the Ceremonies used in her Sacrifices; for leading a Servant-maid into the secret Part of the Temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again: They carry in their Arms their Brother's Children, not their own,



own, and offer Them to the Goddess; and represent in the Sacrifices whatever befel *Bacchus's* Nurses, and what *Ino* suffer'd from the Jealousy of *Juno*, who was incens'd against her, for having nurtur'd the Son of her Rival. *Camillus* having made these Vows, march'd into the Country of the *Falisci*, and in a great Battle overthrew Them and the *Capenates*, their Confederates. Afterwards he turn'd to the Siege of *Veii*, and finding that to take it by Assault would prove a difficult and hazardous Attempt, he cut Mines under Ground, the Earth about the City being easy to break up, allowing as much depth as would be sufficient for carrying on the Works, without being discovered by the Enemy. This Design going on in a hopeful way, he order'd a general Assault to be made upon the City, in order to draw the Besieg'd on to the Walls, whilst they that worked under Ground in the Mines were insensibly, without being perceiv'd, got within the Castle, under the Temple of *Juno*, which was the greatest and most celebrated in all the City. It is reported, that the Prince of the *Tuscans* was at that very time at his Devotions, and that the Priest, after he had look'd into the Entrails of the Beast, should cry out with a loud Voice, That *the Gods would give the Victory to Those that should finish those Sacrifices*: And that the *Romans* who were in the Mines hearing the Words, immediately pull'd down the Floor, and ascending with noise and clashing of Weapons frighted away the Enemy, and snatching up the Entrails carried them to *Camillus*. But this may look like a Fable. The City being taken by Storm, and the Soldiers busied in pillaging and gathering an infinite Quantity of Riches and Spoil, *Camillus* from the Castle viewing what was done, at first wept for Pity; and when They that were by congratulated his good Success, he lift up his Hands to Heaven, and broke out into this Prayer. *O most mighty Jupiter, and ye Gods that are Judges of good and evil Actions; Ye know that not without just Cause, but constrained by necessity, we have been forced to revenge ourselves on the City*

City of our unrighteous and implacable Enemies. But if in the vicissitude of things, there be any Calamity due, to countervail this great Felicity, I beg that it may be diverted from the City and Army of the Romans, and with as little hurt as may be, fall upon my own Head. Having said these Words, and just turning about (as the Custom of the Romans is to turn to the right when they worship or pray) he fell flat to the Ground, to the astonishment of all that were present. But recovering himself presently from the Fall, he told them, that it had succeeded to his wish, a small mischance in recompence of the greatest good fortune.

Having sacked the City, he resolved, according as he had vowed, to carry *Juno's* Image unto *Rome*; and the Workmen being ready for that purpose, he sacrificed to the Goddess, and made his Supplications, that she would be pleased to accept of their Devotion toward her, and graciously vouchsafe to accept of a Place among the Gods that presided at *Rome*: They say, that the Statue answered in a low Voice, *that she was ready and willing to go*. *Livy* writes, that in praying, *Camillus* touched the Goddess, and invited her; and that some of the standers-by cried out, *that she was willing*. They who contend most for the Truth of this Miracle have the wonderful Fortune of that City on their sides, which from a small and contemptible beginning, attained to such Greatness and Power as it could never have done, without those many and great manifestations of God upon all occasions appearing for it. Besides, they produce other Wonders of the like nature, as the often sweating of Statues, and that they have sometimes been heard to groan; as likewise, that Some would shew their displeasure by turning their Faces aside, Others their approbation by a kind Look, as many Writers before our times have related; and We ourselves could relate divers wonderful things which we have heard from Men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected. But to give too easy credit to such things, or wholly to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous,

dangerous, by reason of human infirmity, which hath no bounds or command of itself, but is sometimes carried to superstition and dotage, otherwhile to the contempt and neglect of all Religion: But 'tis best to use Caution, and avoid Extremes. And yet *Camillus*, whether puffed up with the greatness of the Action, to have won a City that was competitor with *Rome*, and had held out a ten years Siege, or exalted with the flattery of those that were about him, assumed to himself more than became a civil and legal Magistrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtiness of his Triumph, driving through *Rome* in a Chariot drawn with four White Horses, no General either before or since having done the like; for the *Romans* esteem That Carriage to be sacred, and peculiar only to the King and Father of the Gods. This alienated the hearts of the Citizens from him, who were not accustomed to such an appearance of Pride and Grandeur.

The second Pique they had against him, was his opposing the Law by which the City was to be divided; for the Tribunes of the People propos'd a Law, that the People and Senate should each be divided into two Parts, One of which should remain at home, the Other, as the lot should give it, remove to the new-taken City. By which means they should not only have much more Room, but by the advantage of two great and fair Cities be better able to maintain their Territories, and secure the rest of their Fortunes from any attempts of their Enemies. The People therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced it, and in great Crouds began to be tumultuous in the publick Courts, demanding to have it put to the Vote. But the Senate and ablest Citizens judging the Proceedings of the Tribunes to tend rather to the Destruction than Division of *Rome*, yet unable to bear up against it themselves, flew to *Camillus* for assistance; who fearing to come to an open rupture, by continual flinging in new occasions to busy and employ their heads, made a shift to stave off the Law. For these

these things he was displeas'd by the People. But the greatest and most apparent cause of their Hatred against him, arose from the Tenths of the Spoil, the Multitude having herein, if not so just, yet a plausible pretence against him. For it seems, as he went to the Siege of *Veii*, he had vowed to *Apollo*, that if he took the City, he would dedicate to Him the tenth of the Spoil. The City being taken and sacked, whether he was loth to disoblige the Soldiers at that time, or that thro' multitude of Business he had forgotten his Vow, he suffer'd them to enjoy that part of the Spoils also. Some time afterwards, when his Authority was laid down, he brought the Matter before the Senate; and the Priests at the same time reported out of the Sacrifices, that the Anger of the Gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeased without Expiation and Offerings. The Senate decreed the Obligation to be in force.

But seeing it was difficult for every one to produce the very same things they had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained that every one upon Oath should bring into the Publick the tenth part of his gain. This seem'd very severe and grievous to the Soldiers, who ceased not to murmur, that poor Men, and such as had endured so much labour and travail in the War, should be forced, out of what they had gained and spent, to bring in so great a proportion. *Camillus* being assaulted by their Clamour and Tumults, for want of a better Excuse, betook himself to the meanest of Defences, by confessing he had forgotten his Vow; but they complain'd that he who then vowed the tenth of the Enemy, now levied it out of the tenths of the Citizens. Nevertheless, every one having brought in his proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a Bowl of massy Gold should be made and sent to *Delpbi*. But there was great scarcity of Gold in the City; and when the Magistrates were considering where to get it, the *Roman* Ladies meeting together, and consulting among themselves, out of the golden Ornaments they wore,  
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contributed as much as went to the making the Offering, which in weight came to eight Talents of Gold. The Senate, to give them the Honour they had deserved, ordained that Funeral Orations should be used at the Obsequies of Women, as well as Men; it having never before been a Custom that any Woman after Death was publickly praised. Choosing out therefore three of the chief of the Nobility for Ambassadors, they sent them in a large Vessel, or Galley, well mann'd, and sumptuously adorned. It was Winter, and the Sea was calm: however, it is remarkable, that being brought almost to the very brink of Destruction, beyond all Expectation, they escaped the Danger. For hard by the Isles of *Æolus*, the Winds slackning, the Gallies of the *Lipareans* came upon them, taking them for Pirates. But when they held up their Hands in suppliant manner, the *Lipareans* forbore violence, only fastned their Ship, and towed her into the Harbour, where they exposed to Sale their Goods and Persons, adjudging them to be lawful Prize. But by the Virtue and Interest of one Man, *Timasitbius* by Name, who was Governor of that Place, and used his utmost Persuasion, they were with much ado dismissed. Besides, he himself joined some of his own Vessels with them, to accompany them in their Voyage, and assist them at the Dedication: For which he received Honours at *Rome* according as he had deserved. And now the Tribunes of the People again resuming the Law about the division of the City, the War against the *Falisci* luckily broke out, giving liberty to the Nobility to choose what Magistrates they pleased, who thereupon chose *Camillus Military Tribune*, with five other Associates; Affairs then requiring a Commander of Authority and Reputation, and one well experienced in War. When the People had ratified the Election, *Camillus* marched with his Forces into the Territories of the *Falisci*, and besieged *Falerii* a well-fenced City, and plentifully stored with all necessaries of War: And tho' he perceived it would be no small Work to take it, nor little time spent about it, yet he



was willing to exercise the Citizens, and keep them doing abroad, that they might have no leisure, idling at home, to follow the Tribunes into Faction and Sedition. Which remedy the Romans constantly used, like good Physicians, throwing out those violent Humours that would otherwise disturb the Commonwealth. The *Falerians*, trusting to the Strength of their City, which was well fortified on all sides, made so little account of the Siege, that beside Those that guarded the Walls, the rest, as in Times of Peace, walked the Streets in their common Habits. The Boys went to School, and were led by their Master to play and exercise about the Town-walls; for the *Falerians*, like the *Grecians*, used one publick School, to the end, their Children being brought up together, might betimes learn to converse and be familiar with one another.

This School-master designing to betray the *Falerians* by their Children, led them out every day under the Town-wall; at first but a little way, and when they had exercised brought them home again. Afterwards by degrees he drew them farther and farther, till by practice he had made them Bold and Fearless, as if no Danger was near them. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Out-guard of the Romans, and delivered them up, demanding to be led to *Camillus*. Where being come, and standing in the middle, he said, *That he was the Master and Teacher of those Children, but preferring His Favour before all other Obligations, he was come to deliver up his Charge to him, and in that the whole City.* When *Camillus* had heard him out, he was struck with the horror of so treacherous an Act; and turning to the Standers-by, he said, *What a sad thing is War, which is the Cause of so much Injustice and Violence! But to good Men there are certain Laws even in War itself, and Victory is not so greedily to be hunted after, as not to avoid the reproach of having gained it by base and unworthy Actions; for it becomes a great General to rely on his own Virtue, and not on the Deceit and Treachery of Others,* Which said, he commanded his Officers to  
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tear off his Clothes, and bind his Hands behind him,  
 and give the Boys Rods and Scourges, to punish the  
 Traitor, and drive him back to the City. By this time  
 the *Falerii* had understood the Treachery of the School-  
 master; and the City, as in such a general Calamity it  
 must needs be, was full of Lamentations and Cries, the  
 Honourable Men and Women running in Distraction  
 about the Walls and Gates; when behold the Boys  
 came whipping their Master on, naked and bound,  
 calling *Camillus* their Saviour, their God, their Father;  
 insomuch that it struck not only into the Parents, but  
 the rest of the Citizens that saw what was done, such  
 an Admiration and Love of *Camillus's* Justice, that im-  
 mediately running into Council, they sent Ambassadors  
 to him, to resign whatever they had to his disposal.  
*Camillus* sent them to *Rome*, where being brought into  
 the Senate, they spoke to this purpose: *That the Ro-*  
*mans, preferring Justice before Victory, had taught them*  
*rather to embrace Submission than Liberty; that they*  
*could not confess Themselves to be so much inferior in*  
*Strength, as they must acknowledge Them to be superior in*  
*Virtue.* The Senate remitted the whole matter to *Ca-*  
*millus*, to judge and order as he thought fit: Who taking  
 a Sum of Money of the *Falerians*, and making a Peace  
 with the whole Nation of the *Falisci*, returned home.  
 But the Soldiers, who expected to have had the Pillage  
 of the City, when they came to *Rome* empty-handed,  
 railed against *Camillus* among their Fellow-Citizens, as a  
 Hater of the People, and one that maliciously opposed  
 the Interest of the Poor. Afterwards, when the Tri-  
 bunes of the People again proposed the Law for dividing  
 the City, *Camillus*, of all others, most openly appeared  
 against it, sparing no Pains, but inveighing with all  
 boldness against the Promoters of it; so that by his Au-  
 thority he persuaded the People, even against their In-  
 clinations, to drop the Law: But the People inwardly  
 hated him for it, as soon after appeared; for though a  
 great Misfortune befel him in his Family, (one of his  
 Sons dying of a Disease) yet the Commiseration of his

Case could not in the least make them abate of their Malice. And indeed he took this Loss with immoderate Sorrow, being a Man naturally of a mild and tender Disposition; even that Day when the Accusation was preferred against him he kept House, and was shut up a close Mourner with the Women. His Accuser was *Licinius Apuleius*; the Crime, Fraud in the *Tuscan Spoils*: And accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain Brass Gates, part of those Spoils. The People were exasperated against him, and it was plain they would take hold of the least pretence and occasion to condemn him. Wherefore gathering together his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers, and such as had bore Command with him, a considerable number in all, he besought them, that they would not suffer him to be unjustly crushed under false Accusations, and left the mock and scorn of his Enemies. His Friends having advised and consulted among themselves, made Answer, That as to the Sentence, they did not see how they could help him, but that they would contribute to whatsoever Fine should be set upon him. Not able to endure so great an Indignity, he resolved in his Anger to leave the City, and go into Exile. Wherefore having taken leave of his Wife, and his Son, he went silently to the Gate of the City, where making a stand, and turning himself about, he stretched out his Hands to the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if without any Fault of his own, but merely through the Malice and Violence of the People, he was driven into Banishment, the Romans might quickly have Cause to repent of it; and that all Mankind might visibly perceive that they needed his Assistance, and longed for his return.* Thus like *Achilles*, having left his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Banishment; so that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the Sum of fifty thousand *Asses*, which reduced to Silver, made a thousand five hundred *Drachma's*; for an *Ass*, with regard to Silver, was a tenth part in Value of a Silver Coin to which it gave Denomination, *viz.* a *Denarius*. There is not a

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*Roman* but does believe that immediately upon the Prayers of *Camillus*, a sudden Judgment followed at the Heels, and that he received a sufficient Revenge for the Injustice done to him ; which tho' we cannot think was pleasant, but rather grievous and bitter to him, yet it was very remarkable, and noised over the whole World : For such Vengeance fell upon the City of *Rome*, and such dismal times succeeded, as drew along with them all manner of Dangers and Deaths, accompanied with Disgrace and Infamy : Whether or no this was merely a work of Chance or Fortune, or of some God, whose Office it was to see that injured Virtue should not go unpunished, I do not determine. The first Token that seemed to threaten some Mischief to ensue, was the Death of the Censor, which happened in the Month of *July* ; for the *Romans* have a religious Reverence for the Office of a Censor, and esteem it a sacred thing. The second was, That just before *Camillus* went into Exile, *Marcus Cedicus*, a Person of no great Quality, nor of the Rank of Senators, but esteemed a sober and credible Man, reported to the *Military Tribunes* a thing worthy their Consideration : That going along the Night before in that Street which is called the *New Way*, and being called upon by a huge Voice, he turned about but could see no Body, but heard a Voice stronger than a Man's, which said these Words : Go, *Marcus Cedicus*, and early in the Morning tell the *Military Tribunes*, that suddenly they are to expect the *Gauls*. But the Tribunes made a mock and sport with the Story ; however *Camillus's* disgrace followed soon after.

The *Gauls* are descended originally of the *Celtæ*, and are reported by reason of their vast Numbers to have left their Country, which was not able to sustain them all, and to have gone in search of other more fertile places. And being many thousands of them young Men and able to bear Arms, and carrying with them a greater number of Women and young Children, Some of them passing the *Riphean Mountains*, fell upon the Northern Ocean,

and possessed the utmost bounds of *Europe*; Others seating themselves between the *Pyrenean* Mountain and the *Alps*, for a long time lived near to the *Senones* and *Celtorii*. But afterwards tasting of the Wine which was then first brought them out of *Italy*, they were all so much taken with the Liquor, and transported with the unusual Delight, that snatching up their Arms, and taking their Families along with them, they marched directly to the *Alps* to find out that Country which yielded such Fruit, esteeming all others barren and unpleasant. He that first brought Wine among them, and was the chief Instigator to draw them into *Italy*, was said to be one *Arron* a *Tuscan*, a Man of Noble Extraction, by Nature not Evil, but provoked to it upon this Occasion: He was Guardian to an Orphan, one of the richest of that Country, and much admired for his Beauty, his Name *Lucumo*; from his Childhood he had been bred up with *Arron* in his Family, and now grown up, he left not the House, pretending to take great delight in his Conversation; thus for a great while together he secretly enjoyed *Arron's* Wife, corrupting, and being corrupted by her. But when they were Both so far gone in their Passions, that they could neither refrain their Lust or conceal it, the young Man seized the Woman, and openly carried her away. The Husband going to Law, and over-power'd in the Multitude of Friends and Money, left his own Country; and hearing of the State of the *Gauls*, went to them, and was Conductor of that Expedition into *Italy*. At first coming they easily possessed themselves of all that Country which anciently the *Tuscans* inhabited, reaching from the *Alps* to both the Seas, as the Names themselves witness; for the North Sea *Adria* is so called from the *Tuscan* City *Adria*, and That which lies on the other side to the South is call'd the *Tuscan* Sea. All the Country is well planted with Trees, has pleasant and rich Pasture, and is well watered with Rivers. It had eighteen fair and stately Cities, excellently seated for Industry and Trade, and plentifully provided



provided for all Pleasures and Delights. The *Gauls* casting out the *Tuscans*, seated themselves in them: But these things were done long before.

But the *Gauls* at this time were besieging *Clusium*, a *Tuscan* City. The *Clusians* sent to the *Romans* for Succour, desiring them to interpose with the *Barbarians* by their Letters and Ambassadors. There were sent three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and most honourable in the City. The *Gauls* received them courteously in respect to the Name of *Rome*; and giving over the Assault which was then making upon the Walls, came to Conference with them; where the Ambassadors asking what Injury they had received of the *Clusians*, that they thus invaded their City; *Brennus*, King of the *Gauls*, smiling made Answer, *The Clusians do us Injury, in that, not able to till a small Parcel of Ground, they must needs possess a great Territory, and will not communicate any part to us, who are Strangers, many in number, and poor. In the same manner, O ye Romans, formerly the Albans, Fidenates and Ardeates, and now lately the Veians and Capenates, and many of the Falisci and Volsci did you Injury; upon whom ye make War if they do not yield you part of what they possess, ye make Slaves of them, ye waste and spoil their Country, and ruin their Cities: neither in so doing are ye cruel or unjust, but follow that most ancient of all Laws, which gives the things of the feeble to the strong; for so it is from God himself down to the Beasts, Nature teaching all these that the stronger is to take Advantage of the weaker. Leave off therefore to pity the Clusians whom we besiege, lest ye teach the Gauls to be good and compassionate to Those that are oppressed by you.* By this Answer the *Romans* perceived that *Brennus* was not to be treated with; so they went into *Clusium*, and encouraged and stirred up the Inhabitants to make a Sally with them upon the *Barbarians*, which they did either to try the strength of the *Clusians*, or to shew their Own. The Sally being made, and the Fight growing hot about the Walls, one of the *Fabii*, *Quintius Ambustus*, being well mounted, and  
 setting

setting Spurs to his Horse, made full against a *Gaul*, a Man of huge Bulk and Stature, whom he saw advanced a great distance from the rest. At the first he was not known, through the sharpness of the Encounter, and the glittering of his Armour that dazzled their eyes; but when he had overthrown the *Gaul*, and was going to gather the Spoils, *Brennus* knew him, and invoking the Gods to be Witnesses, that contrary to the known and common Law of Nations, which is holily observed by all Mankind, he who came as an Ambassador had committed Acts of Hostility, he drew off his Men, and bidding the *Clussians* farewell, led his Army directly to *Rome*. But not willing it should look as if he took advantage of an Injury done by a particular Person, and was therefore ready to embrace any slight occasion or pretence of Quarrel, he sent an Herald to demand the Man in Punishment, and in the mean time marched leisurely on. The Herald being arrived at *Rome*, and the Senate assembled, among many others that spoke against the *Fabii*, the Priests called *Feciales* were the most violent Prosecutors, who laying Religion before the Senate, advised them to lay the whole guilt and expiation of the Fact upon him that committed it, as the best means of averting the Anger of the Gods from the rest of the City. These *Feciales*, *Numa Pompilius*, the mildest and justest of Kings, constituted the Conservators of Peace, and the Judges and Determiners of all Causes for which War might justifiably be made. The Senate referring the whole Matter to the People, and the Priests there as well as in the Senate pleading against *Fabius*, the Multitude did so little regard their Authority in religious matters, that in scorn and contempt of it, they chose *Fabius* and the rest of his Brethren *Military Tribunes*. The *Gauls* hearing this, in great Rage would no longer delay their March, but hastened on with all the Speed they could make. The Places through which they marched, terrified with their Numbers, and such dreadful Preparations of War, and considering the violence and fierceness of their Natures, began to give their Countries for lost,

not doubting but their Cities would quickly follow ; but contrary to Expectation they did no Injury as they passed, nor committed any Acts of hostility in the Countries they passed through ; and when they went by any City they cried out, *that they were going to Rome ; that the Romans only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* Thus whilst the *Barbarians* were hastning with all Speed, the *Military Tribunes* brought the *Romans* into the Field to be ready to engage them, being not inferior to the *Gauls* in Number, (for they were no less than forty thousand Foot) but most of them raw Soldiers, and such as had never handled a Weapon before ; besides they had neglected to consult the Gods, as they ought and used to do upon all difficulties, especially War, but ran on without staying for Priests or Sacrifice. No less did the multitude of Commanders distract and confound their Proceedings ; for before upon less occasions they chose a single Person called *Dictator*, being sensible of what great Importance it is in times of Danger, to have the Soldiers united under one General, who had absolute and unaccountable Power in his hands. Add to all, that the Remembrance of *Camillus's* case was no small hindrance to their Affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command, without humouring and courting the Soldiers. In this condition they left the City, and encamped by the River *Allia*, about eleven Miles from *Rome*, and not far from the Place where it falleth into the *Tiber* ; where the *Gauls* coming upon them, and they shamefully engaging without Order or Discipline, were miserably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there utterly destroyed : The Right had less Damage, by declining the shock, and from the low Grounds getting to the tops of the Hills, from whence many of them afterwards drop'd into the City ; the Rest, as many as escaped, (the Enemy being weary of the Slaughter) stole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for gone, and all that was in it for lost. This Battle was fought about the Summer Solstice, the Moon being at full, the very same Day in which

which formerly happened that sad misfortune to the *Fabii*, when three hundred of that Name and Family were at one time cut off by the *Tuscan*s. But from this second loss and defeat, as being greater than the former, the day got the name of *Alliensis*, from the River *Allia*, and still retaineth it. But concerning unlucky Days, whether we shou'd esteem any such or no, or whether *Heraclitus* did well in upbraiding *Hesiod* for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every Day is the same, I have discovered in another Place; but upon occasion of this present Subject, I think it will not be amiss to annex a few Examples relating to this Matter. On the fifth of *June* the *Bœotians* happened to get two signal Victories, the one about *Leuctra*, the other at *Gerastrus*, about three hundred Years before, when they overcame *Lattamyas* and the *Thessalians*, and asserted the Liberty of *Greece*. Again, on the sixth of *August* the *Persians* were worsted by the *Grecians* at *Marathon*; on the third at *Platœæ*, as also at *Mycalæ*; on the twenty sixth at *Arbeli*. The *Atbenians* about the full Moon in *August* got a Sea Victory about *Naxos*, under the Conduct of *Chabrias*; about the twentieth at *Salamin*, as we have shewn in our Book of Days. *April* was very unfortunate to the *Barbarians*, for in that Month *Alexander* overcame *Darius's* General at *Granicus*, and the *Carthaginians* on the twenty fourth were beaten by *Timoleon* in *Sicily*; on which same Day and Month *Troy* seems to have been taken, as *Ephorus*, *Callisthenes*, *Damastes* and *Phylarchus* have related. On the other hand, the Month *July* was not very lucky to the *Grecians*; for on the seventh Day of the same they were defeated by *Antipater*, at the Battle in *Cranon*, and utterly ruined; and before that in *Chæroneæ* they were defeated by *Philip*; and on the very same Day, same Month, and same Year, they that went with *Archidamus* into *Italy* were there cut off by the *Barbarians*. The *Carthaginians* observe the twenty second of the same Month, as bringing with it the most and greatest of their losses.

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I am not ignorant on the other side, that at the time of celebrating the Feast of *Mysteries*, *Thebes* was destroyed by *Alexander*; and after that, upon the same twentieth of *August*, on which Day they celebrated the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, the *Athenians* received a Garrison of the *Macedonians*: So the same Day has been both fortunate and unfortunate to the *Romans*, for on the self-same Day they lost their Camp under *Cæpio*, by the *Cimbrians*, and under the Conduct of *Lucullus* overcame the *Armenians* and *Tigranes*. King *Attalus* and *Pompey* died both on their Birth-days. I could reckon up several that had variety of Fortune on the same Day. However it be, the *Romans* reckon the Day wherein they received this Defeat at *Allia* as unfortunate; and as Fear and Superstition are wont to increase upon any Misfortune, they do not only distinguish That as Such in their Kalendar, but the Two next that follow it in order in every Month throughout the Year. But I have discoursed this more accurately in my Book of *Roman Questions*.

And now after the Battle, had the *Gauls* immediately pursued those that fled, there had been no remedy but *Rome* must have wholly been ruined, and All who remained in it utterly destroyed; such was the Terror that Those who escaped the Battle had struck into the City at their Return, and so great afterwards was the Distraction and Confusion. But the *Gauls*, not imagining their Victory to be so considerable, and overtaken with the present Joy, fell to feasting and dividing the Spoil, by which means they gave leisure to Such as were for leaving the City to make their escape, and to Those that remained to provide and prepare for their coming. For they who resolved to stay at *Rome*, quitting the rest of the City, betook themselves to the Capitol, which they fortified with strong Ramparts and Mounds, and furnished with all sorts of Arms. But their first and principal care was of their Holy Things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. But as for the Consecrated Fire, the *Vestal Virgins* took it up and fled away with



with it, as likewise with other Holy Relicks. Some write that they preserved nothing but that *Ever-living Fire*, which *Numa* had ordained to be worshipped as the Principle of all things; for Fire is the most active thing in Nature, and all Generation is Motion, or at least, with Motion; all other parts of matter without warmth lie sluggish and dead, and crave the Influence of Heat as their Life, which when it comes upon them, they presently fall to doing or suffering something. Wherefore *Numa*, a Man very curious in such things, and for his Wisdom thought to converse with the Muses, did consecrate Fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning, in resemblance of that Eternal Power which preserveth and actuateth all things. Others say, that according to the usage of the *Greeks*, the Fire always burns before Holy Places, to put us in mind of the Purity of such Places; but that there were other things hid in the most secret part of the Temple, which were kept from the View of All except those Virgins which they call *Vestals*. The most common Opinion was, that the Image of *Pallas*, brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, was laid up there: Others say, that the *Samothracian Gods* lay there; telling a Story how that *Dardanus* carried them to *Troy*, and when he had built that City, dedicated them there; that after *Troy* was taken, *Æneas* stole them away, and kept them till his coming into *Italy*. But They who pretend to understand more of these things, affirm, that there are two Barrels, not of any great Size, one of which stands open, and has nothing in it, the other full and sealed up; but that neither of them is to be seen but by the most Holy Virgins. Others think, that They who say this are deceived, because the Virgins put most of their holy things into two Barrels, and hid them under Ground in the Temple of *Quirinus*, and that from hence that Place to this Day bears the Sir-name of *Barrels*, or *Doliola*. However it be, taking the choicest and most venerable things they had, they fled away with them, shaping their Course along the River-side, where *Lucius Albinus*, a simple Citizen of *Rome*, who among Others

Some living as the thing least, warmth Heat as very pre- therefore for his id con- ing, in serveth rding to s before of such he most om the e Image laid up Gods lay ied them dedicated stole them ut They affirm, Sixe, one other full seen but hey who t of their Ground ence that rels, or and most h them, re Lucius g Others

was making his Escape, overtook them, having his Wife, Children and Goods in a Cart; who seeing the Virgins lugging in their Arms the Holy Relicks of the Gods in a helpless and weary Condition, he caused his Wife and Children to descend; and taking out his Goods, put the Virgins in the Cart, that they might make their escape to some of the *Grecian* Cities. This extraordinary Devotion of *Albinus*, and respect to the Gods, in such an exigence of Time, and extremity of his own Affairs, is so remarkable, as not to be passed over in silence. But the Priests that belong to other Gods, and the most ancient of the Senators, such as had past through many Consulships and Triumphs, could not endure to think of leaving the City; but putting on their holy Vestures and Robes of State, and *Fabius* the High-Priest performing the Office, they made their Prayers to the Gods, and devoting themselves as it were for their Country, sat themselves down in Ivory Chairs in the Market-place, and in that Posture expected the uttermost of what should follow. On the third day after the Battle, *Brennus* appeared with his Army at the City; and finding the Gates to stand wide open, and no Guards upon the Walls, he first began to suspect it was some Design or stratagem, never dreaming that the *Romans* were in so low and forsaken a Condition. But when he found it to be so indeed, he entered at the *Colline* Gate, and took *Rome* in the Three hundred and sixtieth Year, or a little more, after it was built; if it be likely that an exact account of those times has been preserved, when there is so much Confusion and Dispute in things of a later date. The Report of the City's being taken presently flew into *Greece*, tho' in different and uncertain Rumours; for *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, who lived not long after these Times, in his *Book of the Soul*, relates that a certain Report came from the West, that an Army proceeding from the *Hyperboreans* had taken a *Greek* City called *Rome*, seated somewhere upon the great Sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous and bombast

Author as *Heraclides* should embellish his account of the taking of *Rome*, with such high-flown Words as *Hyperborean* and *Great Sea*. *Aristotle* the Philosopher appears to have heard of the taking of the City by the *Gauls*; but as he calls Him who recovered it *Lucius*, (when *Camillus* was not called *Lucius*, but *Marcus*,) he could have his account only by hearsay. *Brennus* having thus got Possession of *Rome*, set a strong Guard about the Capitol, and going himself to view the City, when he came into the Market-place, he was struck with Amazement at the sight of so many Men sitting in that Order and Silence, observing that they neither rose at his coming, or so much as changed Colour or Countenance, but without Fear or concern leaned upon their Staves, and in that sullen Majesty sat looking one upon the other. The *Gauls* for a great while stood wond'ring at the Object, being surpris'd with the strangeness of it, not daring so much as to approach or touch them, taking them for an Assembly of the Gods. But when One, bolder than the rest, drew near to *M. Papirius*, and putting forth his Hand, gently touched his Chin, and stroked his long Beard, *Papirius* with his Staff struck him on the Head, and broke it; at which, the *Barbarian* enraged, drew out his Sword and slew him. This was the Introduction to the Slaughter; for the rest of his Fellows following this Example, set upon them all and killed them, and continuing their rage dispatched All that came in their way: In this fury they went on to the sacking and pillaging the Houses for many days together, carrying away all they found in them: Afterwards they set fire to them, and demolish'd what the Fire had left standing, being incens'd at Those who kept the Capitol, because they would not yield to Summons, or hearken to a Surrender, but on the contrary from their Walls and Ramparts galled the Besiegers with their Sling and Darts. This provoked Them to destroy the whole City, and put to the Sword all that came to their Hands, young and old, Men, Women and Children. And now the Siege of the Capitol having lasted a good while

while, the *Gauls* began to be in want of Provision: wherefore dividing their Forces, part of them stay'd with the King at the Siege, whilst the rest went to forage the Country, destroying the Towns and Villages where they came; yet not all together in a Body, but in different Squadrons and Parties. And to such a Confidence had Success rais'd them, that they carelessly rambled about, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. But the greatest and best-ordered Body of their Forces went to the City of *Ardea*, where *Camillus* then sojourn'd, having ever since his leaving *Rome* sequestred himself from all Business, and taken to a private Life: but now he began to rouse up and cast about, not how to avoid or escape the Enemy, but to find out an opportunity how to be revenged of them. And perceiving that the *Ardeans* wanted not Men, but rather Heart and Courage, which was owing to the Cowardise and little Experience of their Officers in military Affairs, at first he began to deal with the young Men, flinging out Words among them, *That they ought not to ascribe the misfortune of the Romans to the Courage of their Enemy, or attribute the losses occasion'd by rash Counsel, to the the Conduct of Those who had contributed nothing to their Victory, but were only an Evidence of the Power of Fortune: That it was a brave thing, even with danger to repel a Foreign and Barbarous War, whose end in conquering, was like Fire to lay waste and destroy. But if they would be courageous and resolute, he was ready to put an opportunity in their Hands to gain a Victory without hazard at all.* When he found the young Men embrac'd the thing, he went to the chief Officers and Governors of the City, and having persuaded Them also, he muster'd all that could bear Arms, and drew them up within the Walls, that they might not be perceived by the Enemy who was near; who having scoured the Country, and returned heavy laden with Booty, lay encamped in the Plains in a careless and negligent Posture; so that the Night coming upon them who had been disordered with Wine, there was great silence through all

the Camp. Which when *Camillus* understood by his Spies, he drew out the *Ardeans*, and in the dead of Night, passing in silence the Ground that lay between the Enemy and the Town, he made himself Master of their Works ; and then commanding his Trumpets to sound, and his Men to shout and hollow, he struck such terror into them, that even They who took the Alarm, could hardly recover their Senses. Some were so over-charged with Wine, that all the noise of the Assaultants could not awaken them : A few, whom Fear made sober, getting into some order, for a while resisted, and so died with their Weapons in their Hands. But the greatest part of them, buried in Wine and Sleep, were surprised without their Arms, and dispatched : A small Number, that by the Advantage of the Night got out of the Camp, were the next day found wandering in the Fields, and were pick'd up by the Horse that pursued them. The Fame of this Action presently flew thro' the neighbouring Cities, and stirred up the Youth of all Parts to come and join themselves with him. But None were so much concerned as those *Romans* who had escaped in the Battle of *Allia*, and were now at *Veii*, thus lamenting with themselves : *O Heavens, what a Commander has Providence bereaved Rome of, to honour Ardea with his Actions ! And that City, which brought forth and nursed so great a Man, is lost and gone ; and We destitute of a Leader, and living within strange Walls, sit idle, and see Italy ruin'd before our Eyes. Come, let us send to the Ardeans to have back our General, or else, with Weapons in our Hands, let us go thither to him ; for He is no longer an Exile, nor We Citizens, having no Country, but what is in the Possession of the Enemy.* They all agreed upon the matter, and sent to *Camillus*, to desire him to take the Command ; but he answered, that he would not, until They that were in the Capitol should legally choose him ; for he esteemed Them, as long as they were in being, to be his Country : that if They should command him, he would readily obey ; but against their Consents, he would intermeddle with nothing. When this Answer was returned, they admired the Modesty and Temper of *Camillus*.



*Camillus*, but they could not tell how to find a Messenger  
 to carry these things to the Capitol; and what was  
 more, it seem'd altogether impossible for any one to get  
 to them, whilst the Enemy was in full Possession of the  
 City. But among the young Men, there was one *Pon-*  
*tius Cominius*, of indifferent Birth, but ambitious of Ho-  
 nour; this Man proffered himself to run the hazard, but  
 he took no Lettets with him to Those in the Capitol,  
 lest that being intercepted, the Enemy might learn by  
 them the Intentions of *Camillus*. But putting on a poor  
 Garment, and carrying Corks under it, the greatest part  
 of the way he boldly travelled by Day, and came to the  
 City when it was dark: The Bridge he could not pass,  
 by reason it was guarded by the *Barbarians*; so that  
 taking his Clothes, which were neither many nor heavy,  
 and binding them about his Head, he laid his Body upon  
 the Corks, and swimming on them, got over to the  
 City. And avoiding those Quarters where he perceived  
 the Enemy was awake, which he guess'd at by the  
 Lights and Noise, he went to the *Carmenale* Gate,  
 where there was greatest silence, and where the Hill of the  
 Capitol is steepest, and rises with craggy and broken  
 Stones. By this Way he got up, tho' with much diffi-  
 culty, and presented himself to the Guards, saluting  
 them, and telling them his Name, he was taken in, and  
 carried to the Commanders. And a Senate being im-  
 mediately called he related to them in order the Victory  
 of *Camillus*, which they had not heard of before, and  
 told them the Proceedings of the Soldiers, advising them  
 to confirm the Command to *Camillus*, as in whose Con-  
 duct alone the whole Army abroad relied. Having  
 heard and consulted of the matter, the Senate declared  
*Camillus* Dictator, and sent back *Pontius* the same way  
 that he came; who, with the same Success, got through  
 the Enemy, without being discovered, and delivered to  
 the *Romans* the Election of the Senate, who received it  
 with great Acclamations of Joy, and *Camillus* coming to  
 them, found twenty thousand of them ready in Arms;  
 with which Forces, and those Confederates he brought

along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to set upon the Enemy.

But at *Rome* some of the *Barbarians* passing by chance that way by which *Pontius* by Night had got into the Capitol, spied in several places the print of his Feet and Hands, where he had made his way up the Rock, and the Moss that grew to the Rock tore off and broken, and reported it to the King; who coming in Person and viewing it, for the present said nothing. But in the Evening, picking out such of the *Gauls* as were nimblest of Body, and by living in the Mountains were accustomed to climb, he thus spake unto them: *The Enemy themselves have shown us a way how to come at them, which we knew not of before; and have taught us, that nothing is so difficult and impossible, but that Men may overcome it. It would be a great shame for us who command, having begun well, to fail in the end; and to give over a Place as impregnable, when the Enemy himself chalks us out the way by which it may be taken: for in the same place where it was easy for one Man to get up, it will not be hard for Many, one after another; nay, when Many shall undertake it, their mutual assistance of one another will be a great addition of strength and firmness. Rewards and Honours shall be bestow'd on every Man, according as he shall acquit himself in the Action.* When the King had thus spoken, the *Gauls* chearfully undertook to perform it; and, in the dead of Night, a good Party of them with a great silence began to climb the Rock, catching hold of the craggy Stones, and drawing their Bodies into the broken Places, which, tho' hard and untoward in itself, yet upon trial prov'd not half so difficult as they had expected it. So that the foremost of them having gained the top of all, and put themselves into order, they were not far from surprising the Out-works, and mastering the Watch, who were fast asleep, for neither Man nor Dog perceived their coming. But there were sacred Geese kept near the Temple of *Juno*, which at other times were plentifully fed; but at this time by reason that Corn and all other Provisions were grown scarce, their

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their allowance was shortened, and they themselves in a poor and lean condition. This Creature is by nature of quick sense, and apprehensive of the least noise ; so that being besides watchful thro' hunger, and restless, they immediately discovered the coming of the *Gauls* ; and running up and down with their noise and cackling they raised the whole Camp. The *Barbarians* on the other side perceiving themselves discovered, no longer endeavoured to conceal their attempt, but with great shouting and violence set themselves to the assault. The *Romans* every one in haste snatching up the next Weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this sudden Occasion. *Manlius*, a Man of Consular Dignity, of strong Body and stout Heart, was the first that made head against them, and engaging with two of the Enemy at once, with his Sword cut off the right Arm of One just as he was lifting up his Pole-ax to strike ; and running his Target full in the Face of the Other, tumbled him headlong down the steep Rock : then mounting the Rampart, and there standing with Others that came straight to his assistance, he drove down the rest of them, there having not many got up ; and those that had, doing nothing brave or gallant. The *Romans* having thus escaped this danger, early in the morning took the Captain of the Watch, and flung him down the Rock upon the head of their Enemies ; and to *Manlius* for his Victory, they voted a Reward which carried more Honour than Advantage with it, which was, that they contributed to him as much as every Man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of Bread, and about half a pint of Wine. Henceforwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were daily in a worse condition ; they wanted Provisions, being kept in from foraging thro' fear of *Camillus* ; besides that sickness came upon them, occasioned by the number of Carcasses that lay unburied in heaps. Moreover, being lodged among the Ruins, the Ashes, which were very deep, blown about with the Wind, and mingled with the sultry Heat, caused a dry and pestilent Air, which drawn in, infected their

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their Bodies. But the chief cause was the change of their natural Climate, coming out of shady and hilly Countries, which afforded pleasant retirements and shelter from the heat, they found they were now got into low and champian Grounds, naturally unhealthful in the Autumn Season. Another thing which broke their Spirits, was the length and tediousness of the Siege (for they had now sat six entire Months before the Capitol) insomuch that there was vast desolation among them; and the number of the dead grown so great, that the Living scarce sufficed to bury Them. Neither were things any better with the Besieg'd, for Famine increased upon them; and not knowing what *Camillus* did, they remained in a languishing and desponding condition; for it was impossible to send any to him, the City was so narrowly guarded by the *Barbarians*. Things being in this sad condition on both sides, Propositions for an accommodation were made by some of the advanc'd guards, as they happened to discourse with one another; which being afterwards embraced by the better sort, *Sulpicius*, Tribune of the *Romans*, came to parley with *Brennus*; where it was agreed, that the *Romans* laying down a thousand weight of Gold, the *Gauls* upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the City and its Territories. The agreement being confirmed by Oath on both sides, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* used false dealing in the Weights, first privily, afterwards openly, pulling back the balance and violently turning it: at which the *Romans* being moved, and complaining, *Brennus* in a scoffing and insulting manner, pull'd off his Sword and Belt, and threw them both into the Scales; and when *Sulpicius* asked, what that meant, What should it mean (says he) but *Wo to the Conquered!* which afterwards became a proverbial Saying. As for the *Romans*, Some were so incensed, that they were for taking their Gold back again, and returning with resolution to endure the uttermost extremities of the Siege, Others were for passing by and dissembling a petty injury, and not to account that the Indignity of the thing lay in

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paying more than was due, but the paying any thing at all; to which the necessity of the times had made them yield. Whilst this difference was amongst themselves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* was at the *Gates*; and having learned what had passed, he commanded the Body of his Forces to follow slowly after him in good order, and himself with the choicest of his Men hastened to the place of treaty, where the *Romans* giving way to him, and receiving him as Dictator, with profound silence and order, he took the Gold out of the Scales, and delivered it to his Officers, and commanded the *Gauls* to take their Weights and Scales and depart, saying, that it was customary with the *Romans* to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold. And when *Brennus* began to rage and say, that he had injury done him in breaking the Contract; *Camillus* answered, that it was never legally made, and the agreement of no force or obligation, for that Himself being declared Dictator, and there being no other Magistrate by Law he had contracted with Those who had no Power to contract: But now they must apply to Him if they had any Demands to make, for he was come as absolute Lord by Law, to grant Pardon to Such as should ask it, or inflict Punishment on Those who had been Authors of these disturbances, if they did not repent. At this *Brennus* flew out into rage, and it came to a present quarrel; both sides drawing their Swords, and vigorously assaulting each other, were mixed in Confusion together, which could not otherwise be amongst the ruins of Houses and narrow Lanes, and such Places where it was impossible to draw up in any order. But *Brennus* presently recollected himself, called off his Men, and with the loss of a few only, brought them to their Camp; and rising in the night with all his Forces, left the City; and going on about eight Miles, encamped upon the way that leads to *Gabii*. As soon as Day appeared, *Camillus* came up with him, himself well arm'd, and his Soldiers full of courage and confidence: and there engaging with him in a sharp Fight, and which lasted a long while, he overthrew his Army with great

great slaughter, and took their Camp. Of Those that fled, Some were cut off by the Pursuers: Others, of whom was the greatest number, being scattered here and there, the People of the Villages and neighbouring Cities came running out and dispatched them. Thus *Rome* was strangely taken, and more strangely recovered; having been seven whole months in the possession of the *Barbarians*, who entered her about the fifteenth day of *July*, and were driven out about the fourteenth of *February* following. *Camillus* Triumphed, as he deserved, having saved his Country that was lost; and brought the City back again to itself. For they that had lived abroad, together with their Wives and Children, accompanied him in his Triumph; and They who had been shut up in the Capitol, and were reduced almost to the point of perishing with hunger, went out to meet them, imbracing each other, and weeping for joy; and thro' the excess of the present pleasure, scarce believing the truth of their Deliverance. But when the Priests and Ministers of the Gods appeared, bearing those sacred Relicks, which in their flight from *Rome* they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly shewed that they were preserved, it yielded a most joyful and desirable spectacle to the Citizens, who took it, as if with Them the Gods themselves were again returned unto *Rome*: After *Camillus* had sacrificed to the Gods, and purged the City, the Priests leading the Procession, and performing the customary Ceremonies, he restor'd the present Temples, and erected a new one to the God, called the *Speaker or Caller*, choosing the very same Place in which that Voice from Heaven came by night to *Marcus Cedicus*, foretelling the coming of the *Barbarian Army*. It was a business of great difficulty, and an exceeding hard task, amidst so much Rubbish, to discover and set out the consecrated places; but by the unwearied diligence of *Camillus*, and the incessant labour of the Priests, it was at last accomplished. But when the business came to the rebuilding the City, which was wholly demolished, an heartless despondency seized the

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Multitude, and a backwardness to the work, because they wanted all necessary materials, and had more need of some refreshment and rest from their labours, than to toil and wear themselves out in an enterprize they had neither Strength or Wealth to accomplish. Thus by leisure they turned their thoughts again towards *Veii*, a City ready built, and excellently provided of all things; which gave occasion to Many who sought to be popular, by following and nourishing the Humour to raise new Tumults: and many seditious Words were flung out against *Camillus*; That out of Ambition and Self-glory he withheld them from a City fit to receive them, forcing them to live in the midst of Ruins, and to raise such a pile from the Rubbish, that he might be esteemed not the chief Magistrate only and General of *Rome*, but (setting *Romulus* aside) the Founder also. The Senate therefore, fearing a Sedition, would not suffer *Camillus*, tho' desirous, to lay down his Authority within the Year, tho' no other Dictator had ever held it above six Months.

Besides, They endeavoured by kind Persuasions and familiar Addresses to appease and sweeten the Minds of the People, and chear up their Spirits. Sometimes they would lead them to the Monuments and Tombs of their Ancestors, often calling to their remembrance the sacred Oratories and holy Places which *Romulus* and *Numa*, or any other of their Kings, had consecrated and left unto them; but among the chief of their holy Relicks, they set before them that fresh and raw Head which was found in laying the foundation of the Capitol, as a Place destin'd by Fate to be the Head of all *Italy*. What a shame would it be to them, by forsaking the City, to lose and extinguish that holy Fire, which, since the War, was re-kindled by the *Vestal Virgins*; to see the City itself either inhabited by Foreigners and Strangers, or left a wild Pasture for Cattle to graze on? Such reasons as these, mixt with Complaints and Intreaties, They used with the People; sometimes in private, taking them singly one by one; and sometimes in their publick Assemblies.

semblies. But still They were afresh assaulted by the outcries of the Multitude, protesting and bewailing their present wants and inability; beseeching them, that seeing they were just met together, as from a Shipwreck, naked and destitute, they would not constrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruined and shatter'd City; when they had another at hand ready built and prepared. *Camillus* thought good to refer it to the Senate; and he himself discoursed largely and earnestly in behalf of his Country, as likewise did many others. At last, calling to *Lucius Lucretius*, whose Place was first to speak, he commanded him to give his Sentence, and the rest as they followed in order. Silence being made, and *Lucretius* just about to begin, by chance a Captain without, passing by the Senate-House, and leading his Company off the Day-guard, called out with a loud Voice to the Ensign-bearer, to *stay and fix his Standard*; for *that was the best Place to stay in*. This Voice coming in that nick of time, was taken as a direction what was to be done; so that *Lucretius* embracing the Omen, and adoring the Gods, gave his Sentence for staying, as likewise did all the rest that followed. Even among the common People it wrought a wonderful change of affection, every one heartning and encouraging his Neighbour, and setting himself chearfully to the work; proceeding not in any regular lines or proportions, but every one pitching upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or best pleased his Fancy; by which haste and hurry in building, they raised the City with narrow and intricate Lanes, and Houses huddled together one upon the back of another: For it is said, that within the compass of the year, the whole City was raised up anew, both in its publick Walls, and private Buildings. But the Persons appointed by *Camillus* to recover and set out the consecrated Places, in that great confusion of all things, searching about the *Palatium*, and coming to that Place which is called *Mars's Close*, they found it entirely destroyed by the *Barbarians*; it happened, that whilst they were clearing the Place, and carrying away the  
rubbish,



rubbish, they lit upon *Romulus* his *Augural Staff*, buried under great and deep heaps of Ashes. This Staff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make use of this *Lituus* in quartering out the Regions of the Heavens, when they are upon that sort of Divination which is made by the flight of Birds ; which *Romulus* himself also made use of, being most excellently skilled in Augury.

But when he disappeared from among Men, the Priests took the Staff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now when they found that, whereas all other things were consumed, this Staff was not in the least injured by the flames, they began to conceive joyful hopes concerning *Rome*, that this Token did portend the everlasting Safety and Prosperity of it.

And now they had scarce got a breathing time from their troubles, but a new War comes upon them : the *Æqui*, *Volsi*, and *Latins* all at once invade their Territories ; and the *Tuscans* besiege *Sutrium* a confederate City of the *Romans*. The *Military Tribunes*, who commanded the Army, and were encamped about the Hill *Marcins*, being closely besieged by the *Latins*, and the Camp in danger to be lost, send to *Rome*, and *Camillus* is a third time chosen Dictator. About this War there are two different Relations ; I shall begin with the fabulous : They say that the *Latins* (whether out of pretence, or real design to re-unite the ancient Blood of both Nations) should send to desire of the *Romans* some of their free Maids in Marriage : That the *Romans* being at a loss what to determine, (for on one hand they dreaded a War, having scarce settled and recovered themselves ; on the other side, they suspected that this asking of Wives was in plain terms nothing else but to gain Hostages, tho' they covered it over with the specious name of Marriage and Alliance) a certain Handmaid, by name *Tutula*, or as some call her *Philotis*, should persuade the Magistrates to send with her some of the most youthful and beautiful Slaves in the garb and dress of noble Virgins, and leave the rest to her care and management ; that

the Magistrates, if they approved what she proposed, should choose out as many as she thought necessary for her Purpose, and adorning them with Gold and rich Clothes, deliver them to the *Latins*, who encamped nigh the City: That at night, when the other Slaves had stolen away the Enemies Swords, *Tutula* or *Philotis* (which you please) getting to the top of a wild Fig-tree, and spreading out a thick Garment behind her, to conceal the design from the *Latins*, should hold out a Torch towards *Rome*, which was the signal agreed on between her and the Commanders, none other of the Citizens knowing the meaning of it; which was the reason that the issuing out of the Soldiers was tumultuous, the Officers pushing their Men on, and they calling to their Fellow-Soldiers to come on, with much Difficulty brought themselves into any order: That setting upon the Enemies Works, who either were asleep or expected no such matter, they took the Camp, and destroyed most of them: and that this was done in the Nones of *July*, which was then called *Quintilis*; and that the Feast observed at that time, is in remembrance of this Action: for first running out of the City in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the most familiar and usual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby that calling to one another when they issued out in such haste. In the next place the Maid-Servants richly adorned run about playing and jesting upon all they meet, and amongst themselves use a kind of skirmishing, to shew they helped in the conflict against the *Latins*. In the time of their feasting, they sit shaded over with Boughs of wild Fig-tree, and the Day they call *Nonæ Capratinæ*, as Some think, from that wild Fig-tree, on which the Maiden held out her Torch, for the *Romans* call a wild Fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer most of what is said or done at this Feast, to what happened to *Romulus*; for on this day, without the Gate of the City, he vanished out of sight, a sudden darkness, together with tempest, overclouding him (Some think it an Eclipse of the Sun) and that the day was called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, (for they call a Goat *Capra*) because *Romu-*

*Camillus* disappeared at a Place called *Palus Capra*, or *Goats-Marsh*, whilst he was holding there an Assembly of the People, as in his Life it is written. But the general stream of Writers prefer the other account of this War, which they thus relate. *Camillus* being the third time chosen Dictator, and learning that the Army under the Tribunes was besieged by the *Latins* and *Volschi*, he was constrained to arm, not only the Youth, but even such as Age had exempted from service; and taking a large compass round the Mountain *Martius*, undiscovered by the Enemy, he lodged his Army on their back, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The besieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and join Battle; but the *Latins* and *Volschi*, fearing their Enemy on both sides, drew themselves within their Works, which they fortified with many Trees laid cross-wise, and drove into the ground, and so round their Camp drew a Wall of Wood; resolving to wait for more supplies from home, and expect the assistance of the *Tuscan*s their Confederates. *Camillus* perceiving their drift, and fearing to be reduced to the same straits he had brought them to, namely, to be besieged himself, resolved to lose no time; and finding their Rampart was all of Timber, and observing that a strong wind constantly at Sun-rising blew off from the Mountains, after having prepared much combustible stuff, about break of Day he drew forth his Forces; some of which he commanded to take their Darts, and with noise and shouting assault the Enemy on the opposite quarter, whilst he with Those that were to sling in the Fire, went to that side of the Enemy's Camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the skirmish was begun, and the Sun risen, and a violent wind fell down from the Mountains, he gave the signal of onset; and pouring in an infinite quantity of fiery matter, he filled all their Rampart with it, so that the flame being fed in the close Timber and wooden Palisadoes, it went on and dispersed itself into all Quarters. The *Latins* having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguish it, the Camp

being almost full of Fire, were reduced to a very small compass, and at last forced by necessity to fall into their Enemies hand, who stood before the Works ready armed and prepared to receive them; of these a very few escaped, but those that stayed in the Camp were all consumed by the Fire; and then the *Romans*, to gain the Pillage, extinguished it. These things perform'd, *Camillus*, leaving his Son *Lucius* in the Camp to guard the Prisoners and secure the Booty, pass'd into his Enemies Country; where having taken the City of the *Æqui*, and reduced the *Volsci* to obedience, he immediately led his Army to *Sutrium* (having not heard what had befallen the *Sutrians*) making haste to assist them, as if they were still in danger, and besieg'd by the *Tuscans*. But they had already surrendred their City to their Enemies; and being destitute of all things, with their Garments only about them, they met *Camillus* on the way, leading their Wives and Children, and bewailing their misfortune. *Camillus* himself was struck with the object, and perceiving the *Romans* to weep, and grievously resent their Case, (the *Sutrians* hanging on them) resolved not to defer revenge, but that very day to lead his Army to *Sutrium*: Conjecturing that the Enemy, having just taken a rich and plentiful City, and not left an Enemy within it, nor expecting any from without, he should find them wallowing in all Riot and Luxury, open and unguarded. Neither did this opinion fail him, for he not only pass'd thro' their Country without discovery, but came up to their very Gates, and possess'd himself of the Walls; there not being a Man left to guard them, they being all got into houses in different parts of the Town, drinking and making merry upon the Occasion: nay, when at last they did perceive that the Enemy had seized the City, they were so overcharged with eating and drinking, that few were able so much as to endeavour an escape; but in the most shameful posture, either waited for their Death within Doors, or if they were able to stagger out of their Houses, immediately surrendred themselves to the

he will of the Conqueror. Thus the City of the Latins was twice taken in one day; and it came to pass, that They who were in possession, lost it, and They who had lost their possession gained it again, by the means of *Camillus*; for all which Actions he received a Triumph, which brought him no less honour and reputation than both the former: for those very Citizens, who before most envied and detracted from him, ascribing his Successes to a certain hit of Fortune rather than steady Virtue, were now compelled by these last Acts of his to attribute Them to the great abilities and indefatigable application of the man.

Of all his Adversaries, and Enviars of his Glory *Marcus Manlius* was the most considerable; He who gave the first repulse to the *Gauls*, and drove them out that Night they set upon the Capitol, for which he was surnamed *Capitolinus*. This Man affecting the first Place in the Commonwealth, and not able by honourable ways to outdo *Camillus's* Reputation, took the trite and usual methods of Such as aim at a tyrannical Government, viz. by practising upon the weakness of the populace, especially of such as were in debt; Some he would defend against their Creditors by pleading their Causes, Others he would rescue by force, not suffering the Law to proceed against them: insomuch that in a short time he had gotten great numbers of indigent People about him; who making tumults and uproars in the Courts, struck great terror into the principal Citizens. In this Exigence they created *Quintus Capitolinus* Dictator, who in the first exercise of his Authority committed *Manlius* to prison, which the People took so much to heart, that they changed their Apparel thereupon, and put themselves into Mourning; a thing never done but in great and publick Calamities. The Senate fearing some tumult, ordered him to be released; Who set at liberty was never the better, but rather more insolent in his practices, filling the whole City with his Faction and Sedition. Wherefore they chose *Camillus* again *Military Tribune*; and a day being set for *Manlius* to



answer to his charge, the prospect of the Place was a great hindrance to his Accusers: for the very Place where *Manlius* by Night fought with the *Gauls*, overlook'd the Court from the Capitol; so that stretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his past Actions, raising compassion in all that beheld him. Insomuch that the Judges were at a loss what to do, and several times forced to adjourn the Trial, not willing to acquit him of the Crime, proved by manifest Circumstances, and yet unable to execute the Law, that noble Action of his being always in their Eyes by reason of the Place. *Camillus* considering this, removed the Judgment-Seat out of the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove, from whence there is no prospect of the Capitol. Here his Accuser went on with his Charge, and the Judges being now at liberty to consider of his late Practices, he receiv'd a just recompence and reward of his wicked Actions; for being found guilty, he was carried to the Capitol, and flung headlong from the Rock, having the same Place both a witness of his greatest Glory, and a monument of his most unfortunate End. The *Romans* besides razed his House, and built there a Temple to the Goddess they call *Moneta*; ordaining for the future that none of the Patrician Order should ever dwell in the Capitol.

And now *Camillus* being called to the sixth *Tribuneship*, desired to be excused, as being aged, and perhaps fearful of the malice of Fortune, and of the Envy which usually attends great and prosperous Actions. But the most apparent pretence was the weakness of his Body, for he happened at that time to be sick; but the People would admit of no excuses, crying that they wanted not his Strength for Horse or for Foot-service, but only his Counsel and Conduct. These reasons prevailed upon him to undertake the Command, and with one of his fellow *Tribunes* to lead the Army immediately against the Enemy. These were the *Prænestines* and *Volsci*, who with great Forces wasted the Countries of Those who were in

alliance

alliance with the *Romans*. Having marched out his Army, he sat down and encamped near the Enemy, meaning himself to draw out the War in length, or if there should be necessity or occasion of fighting, in the mean time to prepare his army for it by military Exercise. But *Lucius* his Colleague, carried away with the desire of Glory, was not to be held in; but impatient to give Battle, inflamed with the same eagerness the Captains and Colonels of the Army: so that *Camillus* fearing he might seem out of envy to rob the young Officers of the Glory of a notable Exploit, gave way, tho' unwillingly, that he should draw out the Forces, whilst himself, by reason of weakness, staid behind with a few in the Camp. *Lucius* engaging rashly was soon discomfited, when *Camillus* perceiving the *Romans* to give Ground and fly, he could not contain himself, but leaping from his bed, with those Servants and Retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the Gates of the Camp: and making his way thro' Them that fled, he drove furiously to oppose the Pursuers; insomuch that Those who were within the Camp presently turned back and followed him, and Those that had fled out of it, made Head again, and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forsake their General. Thus the Enemy for that time was stop'd in his pursuit. But (1) the next Day (1) *Livy* saith it *Camillus* drawing out his Forces and *was the same Day*. joining Battle with them, overthrew them by main force, and following close upon Them that fled, he entered Pell-mell with them into their Camp, and took it, slaying the greatest part of them. Afterwards having heard that *Sutricum* was taken by the *Tuscans*, and the Inhabitants, all *Romans*, put to the Sword, the main Body of his Forces, and heaviest arm'd, he sent home to *Rome*, and taking with him the lightest and best-appointed Soldiers, he set suddenly upon the *Tuscans*, who were in the Possession of the City, and having master'd them, Some he drove out, Others he slew. And so returning to *Rome* with great Spoils, he gave

gave a signal Evidence of the good Sense of the *Roman* People, who not mistrusting the Weakness and Age of a Commander endued with Courage and Conduct, had rather chosen him who was sickly, and desirous to be excused, than younger Men who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore when the Revolt of the *Tusculans* was reported, they gave *Camillus* the charge of reducing them, and the liberty of choosing which of his five Collegues he pleased to go with him. And now when every one of them put in earnestly for the Place, contrary to the expectation of All, he pass'd by the rest, and chose *Lucius Furius*, the very same Man, who but just before, against the judgment of *Camillus*, by rashly hazarding a Battle, had brought things to a dangerous and most desperate Condition; willing, as it should seem, by the preference of Him, to relieve him from the shame of it. The *Tusculans* hearing of *Camillus's* coming against them, sought cunningly to turn off the suspicion of their Revolt. Their Fields, as in times of highest Peace, were full of Plowmen and Shepherds; their Gates stood wide open, and their Children went publickly to School: as for the People, such as were Tradesmen, he found them in their Shops, busied about their several Employments; and the better sort of Citizens walking in the publick Places, in their usual Gowns and Formalities: The Magistrates were diligent and officious in running about and providing Quarters for the *Romans*, as if they stood in fear of no danger, and as tho' they had committed no fault at all. Which Arts, tho' they could not alter the Opinion *Camillus* had of their Treachery, yet wrought in him such a compassion for them as Penitents, that he commanded them to go to the Senate and atone their anger, and Himself became Intercessor in their behalf: inso-much that their City was acquitted of all Offences, and admitted to the freedom and privileges of *Rome*. These were the most memorable Actions of his sixth *Tribuneship*.

After

After these things *Licinius Stolo* raised a great Sedition in the City, by which the People fell to dissension with the Senate, earnestly contending that of two Consuls one should be chosen out of the Commons, and not both out of the Nobility. *Tribunes of the People* were chosen, but the multitude violently opposed the election of Consuls. Things thro' this dissension running into great disorder, *Camillus* was a fourth time created Dictator by the Senate, sore against the will of the People; neither was he himself very forward to accept it, as being unwilling to oppose his Authority against Those, who in many and great conflicts had reposed singular trust and confidence in him, and with whom he had done more things in military Affairs, than ever he had transacted with the Nobility in Civil: that now he was pitch'd upon out of envy, that prevailing he might suppress the People; or failing, be suppress himself. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the present; knowing the day on which the *Tribunes of the People* intended to propose the Law, at the same time he proclaim'd a general Muster, and called the People from the Market-place, where the Assembly for choosing Magistrates was usually held, into the Field, threatening to set heavy Fines upon such as should not readily obey. On the other side, the *Tribunes of the People* opposed themselves to his Threats, solemnly protesting to fine him in 50000 Drachmas of Silver, if he persisted to hinder the People in giving their Suffrages for the Law. Wherefore, either that he feared another Banishment or Condemnation, as not agreeable to his Age, and misbecoming those great Actions he had performed, or finding himself not able to stem the Current of the Multitude, which ran with a strong and irresistible force, for the present he betook himself to his House, and afterwards for some days together pretending Indisposition of Body, laid down his Dictatorship, and the Senate created another Dictator; who choosing *Stolo*, leader of this Sedition, to be *General of the Horse*, suffered that Law to take place, which was most grievous to the

the Nobility, namely, that no Person whatsoever should possess above 500 Acres of Land. *Stolo* exceedingly triumph'd in the Conquest he had gained, till not long after he was found himself to possess more than he allowed to Others, and so suffered the Penalties of his own Law. And now the Contention about Election of Consuls coming on (which of all other Diffensions was the sharpest, and from its first beginning had administered most Matter of Division between the Senate and the People) certain Intelligence arrives, that the *Gauls* again proceeding from the *Adriatick* Sea, marched directly towards *Rome*, and upon the very Heels of the Report manifest Acts of Hostility were related; viz. that the Country thro' which they marched was all wasted, and such as by Flight could not make their escape to *Rome*, dispersed and scattered among the Mountains. The Terror of this War quieted the Sedition, so that the Nobility conferring with the Commons, and both joining Counsels unanimously, chose *Camillus* the fifth time Dictator, who, tho' very ancient, as not wanting much of fourscore Years, yet considering the Danger and Necessity of his Country, did not, as before, pretend Sickness or other Excuse, but readily undertook the Charge, and listed his Soldiers: And knowinig that the force of the *Barbarians* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about them in a rude and unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the Head and Shoulders; he caused Iron Murrians to be made for most of his Men, smoothing and polishing the outside, that the Enemies Swords lighting upon them, might either slide off, or be broken; and round about their Shields he drew a little rim of Brass, the Wood itself being not sufficient to bear off the Blows. Besides, he taught the Soldiers in close engaging to use long Javelins, or punchion Staves, which holding under their Enemies Swords, would receive the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* drew nigh about the River *Anien*, dragging a heavy Camp after them, and loaden with infinite Spoil, *Camillus* drew forth his Forces, and planted himself upon a

Hill



easy ascent, and which had many hollow places in it,  
 to the end that the greatest part of his Army might be  
 concealed, and those few which appeared might be  
 brought thro' Fear to have betaken themselves to those  
 upper Grounds. And the more to increase this Opinion  
 in them, he suffer'd them without any disturbance to  
 spoil and pillage even to his very Trenches, keeping  
 himself quiet within his Works, which were well for-  
 tified on all sides: At last, perceiving that part of the  
 Enemy were scattered about the Country a foraging,  
 and having advice that Those that were in the Camp did  
 nothing day and night but drink and revel, in the night-  
 time he drew forth his lightest-arm'd Men, and sent  
 them before to observe and watch the Enemy, and to be  
 ready to hinder them from drawing into Order, and to  
 vex and discompose them when they should first issue out  
 of their Trenches; and early in the Morning he  
 brought down his main Body, and set them in Battle-  
 array in the lower Grounds, being a numerous Body and  
 full of Courage; whereas the *Barbarians* had taken  
 them for a small party of men that were afraid of them.  
 The first thing that abated the Pride and Courage of the  
*Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they least ex-  
 pected it, and that their Enemies had the Honour of be-  
 ing Aggressors. In the next place, the light-arm'd  
 Men falling upon them before they could get into their  
 usual Order, or range themselves in their proper Squa-  
 drons, did so force and press upon them, that they were  
 obliged to fight confusedly and at random, without any  
 discipline at all. But at last, when *Camillus* brought on  
 his heavy-arm'd Legions, the *Barbarians* with their  
 Swords drawn, went vigorously to engage them; but the  
*Romans* opposing with their Javelins, and receiving the  
 force of their Blows on that part of their Shield which  
 was well guarded with Brass, they turned the Edge of  
 their Weapons, being made of a soft and ill-tempered  
 Metal, insomuch that their Swords immediately bent in  
 their Hands, and stood crooked to the Hilt: as for their  
 bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and  
 grown

grown so heavy with the Javelins that stuck upon them, that forced to quit their own Weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of those of their Enemies; so that gathering up the Javelins in their hands, they began to return them upon the *Romans*. But the *Romans* perceiving them naked and unarm'd, presently betook themselves to their Swords, which they so well used, that in a little time great Slaughter was made in the foremost Ranks, and the rest of them fled, dispersing themselves all over the Champian Country; for as for the Hills and upper Grounds, *Camillus* had before-hand possess'd himself of them, and they would not fly towards their Camp, because they knew there would be no great difficulty in taking it, seeing thro' Confidence of Victory they had left it unguarded. They say this Fight was thirteen years after the sacking of *Rome*, and that from henceforward the *Romans* took Courage, and laid aside those dismal Apprehensions they had conceived of the *Barbarians*; thinking now that their first Defeat was rather the effect of Sickness, and the strange concurrence of evil Chances, than the steady Courage or true Force of their Enemy. And indeed this Fear had been formerly so great, that they made a Law, *That Priests should be excused from Warlike Service, unless in an Invasion from the Gauls*. As to *Military Affairs*, this was the last Action in which *Camillus* was concerned; for as for the City of the *Velitani*, That fell in as a part of this Victory, it being surrendred unto him without any resistance. As to Civil Affairs, the greatest and hardest dispute to be managed was with the People, which was still remaining; for they returning home full of Victory and Success, violently insisted, contrary to the ancient Custom, to have one of the Consuls chosen out of their own Body. The Senate strongly opposed it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorship, thinking that under the shelter of his great Name and Authority they might with more probability of success defend the Rights of the *Patricians*; but when *Camillus* was sitting upon the Tribunal, dispatching publick Affairs,

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affairs, an Officer sent by the *Tribunes of the People*  
 commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his Hand  
 upon him, as ready to seize and carry him away; upon  
 which such a noise and tumult followed in the Assembly,  
 the like was never heard of before: Some that were  
 about *Camillus* thrusting the People from the Tribunal,  
 and the multitude below calling out to pull him down.  
 Being at a loss what to do in this exigency of Affairs,  
 he laid not down his Authority, but taking the Senators  
 along with him, he went to the Senate-House; but be-  
 fore he entred, turning towards the Capitol, he besought  
 the Gods that they would bring these Troubles to a  
 happy conclusion, solemnly vowing, when the Tumult  
 was ended, to build a Temple to *Concord*. A great Con-  
 test arising in the Senate, by reason of contrary Opinions,  
 at last the most moderate and most agreeable to the Peo-  
 ple prevailed, which was that one of the two Consuls  
 should be chosen out of the Commonalty. When the  
 Dictator had proclaim'd this Determination of the Se-  
 nate to the People, they were immediately (as it could  
 not otherwise be) pleased and reconciled with the Senate;  
 and for *Camillus*, they accompanied him home, with all the  
 expressions and Acclamations of Joy: and the next Day  
 being assembled together, they voted a Temple of *Concord* to  
 be built according to *Camillus* his Vow, facing the Assembly  
 and Market-place; and to those Feasts which are called  
*Saturnalia*, they added one Day more, making them four  
 festivals in all; and for the present they ordained, that  
 the whole People of *Rome* should sacrifice with Garlands  
 on their Heads. In the Election of Consuls held by  
*Camillus*, *M. Emilius* was chosen of the Nobility, and  
*Lucius Sextius* the first of the Commonalty; and this  
 was the last of all *Camillus*'s Actions. In the Year  
 following, a pestilential Sickness infected *Rome*, which,  
 besides an infinite number of the common sort, swept  
 away most of the Magistrates, among Whom was *Ca-*  
*millus*. Whose Death cannot be called immature, if we  
 consider his great Age, or greater Actions; yet was he

lamented than all the rest put together, who then died of that Distemper.



### The Comparison of Themistocles with Camillus.

**I**T will be easy to discover, from what has been said relating to the Lives of *Themistocles* and *Camillus*, that there is a strong Resemblance between those two great Men in many Particulars. They were Both descended from Families unknown before, or at least not render'd illustrious by any notable Exploits, till they appeared the First in the Lists to raise them out of their original Obscurity, and by their own personal Merit and Virtue reflect to their Ancestors that Honour and Distinction, which they never deriv'd from them. They were engaged in many important Disputes with Strangers, and in many more with their Fellow-Citizens. They Both suffer'd from the Ingratitude of those very Citizens, Whom they had so signally serv'd; and Both the One and the Other wrested their Country out of the Hands of *Barbarians*.

The very Times in which they liv'd nearly resembled each Other. The same Storms and Tempests that distress'd the One, shook the Other, and produced in Both the same Spirits and Resolutions to contend with those Storms and Tempests, and to conduct in Safety the People committed to their Care and Protection. To this Conformity of the Times, wherein they severally liv'd, was owing that Conformity which appear'd in their Exploits and Fortunes; for the Circumstances of Both required that Wisdom shou'd have the greatest share in all their Performances, and preside over their innate Courage and Bravery. And yet in the Face of this general Resemblance, a near View will discover many things

things wherein they do as remarkably differ. We are therefore to place those Resemblances in a proper Light, and discriminate the Difference, and Agreement, that may be found between them.

In the first place, *Camillus* seems to have the Preference of *Themistocles*, on account of his Performances. He gain'd more Victories, conquered more Towns, recovered More from the Enemies, reliev'd an Army that was besieg'd, preserv'd his Colleague that had engaged the Enemy unseasonably, and put a glorious End to many Wars that in their own Nature were of a dangerous Tendency. To these renown'd Exploits, nothing can be oppos'd in Behalf of *Themistocles*, but his having put an End to the Wars in *Greece*, his Victories over the *Persians* in the several Engagements at *Artemisium*, and the total Defeat of them in the Straits of *Salamine*.

As for the First of these Exploits, *Camillus* did not do more Service to the *Romans* by his Courage in terminating so many Wars, and triumphing so often over the Enemies of his Country, than *Themistocles* did to *Greece* by his Wisdom in suppressing her intestine Divisions, reconciling her Cities, and uniting the Citizens in one and the same Interest. For tho' nothing may be thought more feasible than to put a stop to domestic Disputes at the Approach of a common Enemy, which will force the contending Parties to form themselves under one Banner, yet what *Themistocles* did on this Occasion may be said to be the Effect of a consummate Prudence, when he prevented those Cities, which were in a Rivalship with *Athens*, from taking the Benefit of the great King's Assistance towards the reducing *Athens* and with Her all *Greece* into a state of Subjection. And indeed the Importance of the Service, and the Imminency of the Danger, appear'd soon after the Death of *Themistocles*.

*Themistocles* his Actions at *Artemisium*, will bear no Comparison with *Camillus* his Encounters with the *Æqui*, the *Volsi*, and the *Latins*; for in all those Actions



*Camillus* was undoubted Conqueror, whereas what *Themistocles* did at *Artemisium* serv'd only to let the *Greeks* know, that notwithstanding the dreadful Number of their Ships, the *Barbarians* were to be conquered; and those Actions, properly speaking, were no other than the Preludes of a future Victory.

But if we are to form a Judgment of Mens Actions, rather from their Importance than Numbers, the single Battle at *Salamine* was of more Weight than all the Exploits of *Camillus* put together, whether we consider the Situation the *Athenians* were in at that time, or the amazing Power of the Enemy, who whilst he cover'd the Bosom of the Ocean with his Ships, had a most formidable Army at Land, or whether we are not rather to form our Judgment from the great Multitudes who ow'd their Safety to that Victory. *Camillus*, it is true, preserved *Rome*; but *Themistocles*, in saving *Athens*, was the Preserver of *Greece*, who without Him must have sunk into a deplorable Servitude. And certainly that Action, whose Benefits are extended to Many, must be more glorious than That whose Fruits are confin'd only to a Few.

It may be said that *Camillus* ow'd all his Success to Himself only, whereas *Themistocles* shared the Honour of his Victory with the General of the *Lacedaemonians*. It is true, *Eurybiades* fought in the Straits of *Salamine* with great Courage and Resolution; but without the Intervention of *Themistocles* his Prudence, that Courage would have been unprofitable, nay probably it wou'd not have been put to the Trial. So far was that General from lessening the Glory of *Themistocles*, that he rather served to illustrate it; for at the same time that *Themistocles* saved *Greece*, he had the Pleasure of saving that General likewise, and all his Forces. If on that Occasion *Themistocles* gave manifest Proofs of a consummate Prudence, whether it was in bringing the *Greeks* under a necessity of fighting in the Straits, or in choosing the most favourable time for the Attack; he at the same time gave amazing Instances of an invincible

vincible Patience, the sure sign of a great Mind, and of a Moderation, which had nothing in view but the Good of the Publick. He resign'd the Command to *Eurybiades* at a very critical Conjuncture, when Emulation and Obstinacy, which might have pass'd upon the Vulgar for Courage and Magnanimity, would undoubtedly have ruin'd the Affairs of the *Grecians*. For it is certain he would never have overthrown his Enemies by his Courage, if he had not first got the better of his Allies by his Condescension. And I question if *Camillus* can shew any thing of this sort equal to it, or to that Greatness of Mind when *Themistocles* bore with Patience the extravagant Sallies of *Eurybiades*, that he might have time to lay before him coolly his Sentiments and Advice. That Man must be well acquainted with the way to true Glory, who could march on without stumbling in a Road so intricate, where he was to suffer Insults with Patience, and swallow Affronts.

If it be in the Actions of Men as it is in Tragedies, where the shortest Moments artfully managed, produce the most surprising Events, and raise our Admiration up to the highest Pitch by the Terror and Compassion they inspire us with, there is nothing in the Life of *Themistocles* comparable to the miraculous Incidents which abound in That of *Camillus*. They are not Adventures govern'd and conducted by human Force or Reason, but inextricable Difficulties unravell'd, as it were, by the Intervention of a Deity. It is certain that in *Themistocles*, the intricate Part of the Plot is well prepared. *Xerxes* like a Torrent sweeps away the Inhabitants and Cities of *Greece*; the Oracle commands the *Athenians* to inclose themselves within Walls of Wood; upon This they embark, having first sent away their Wives and Children, and the ancient Men, into the neighbouring Islands; and now is the *Barbarian* Master of *Athens*; from whence is their Deliverer to come? who shall defend a People already vanquish'd, and whose last hopes are placed in their Fleet, which consists of no more than one hundred and eighty Gal-

lies, with which they are to encounter a Navy of Twelve hundred Sail? *Themistocles* his Courage, Resolution, and good Sense give a new Life to the *Athenians*, and the Event is fortunate; but this Catastrophe has nothing in it of the Wonderful and Surprising; All is Simple, all is Uniform: whereas in *Camillus* every thing is equally miraculous; *Rome* in Ashes; the victorious *Gaul* Master of it; he incamps amidst its Ruins; lays close Siege to the Capitol, which is defended only by a handful of Men; and They, reduced to the last Extremity, ready to redeem their Country, the sad Remains of hostile Flames, and *Rome* is weighing in the Balance against the Gold of the *Barbarians*. In the very critical minute arrives *Camillus*, and effects her Deliverance not with Gold but by the Sword. This Air of the Wonderful breathes in almost every one of his Actions, whether he is relieving an Army besieged on a Mountain; defeating an Enemy the Moment after their Victory; leading Citizens back into the City the very day in which they had been driven out of it; or retaining within their Duty Towns in the very Instant of revolt. But as these Moments of surprise are the Effects of Chance, or the Sports of Fortune, and seem fitter for the Entertainment of a Reader whose Mind is most taken with marvellous Events, than to form in us a right Judgment of the Actions, and teach us wherein one Man excels Another, let us leave these Things to the Painters, and the Poets, to be by Them display'd on the Stage, and in their Paintings, whilst We confine our Consideration to such Things as relate more peculiarly to *Themistocles* and *Camillus*, and which they owe only to Themselves; and thereby be enabled to make an exact estimate of their Virtues, and their Vices.

They had Both the same Thirst after Glory: Both exerted the same Courage and Conduct upon Occasion. But it is neither Courage, Conduct, or Cunning by which Men are to be judged, because They are Qualities which they may be said to have in common with  
many

many other Animals. That which infinitely dignifies human Nature, and raiseth her in some degree up to the supreme Being, is that provident Foresight, in which *Themistocles* had exceedingly the Advantage over *Camillus*. He cou'd see no farther than just before him, whereas *Themistocles* saw afar off, and had an Eye that could penetrate even into the Womb of Events. At the time when the *Persians*, overthrown at *Marathon*, were frighted back into the very Heart of *Asia*, He foretold their Return, and prepared his Fellow-Citizens for new Conflicts with those *Barbarians*. It is true, as *Cicero* has observed, that this Foresight fail'd him upon some of the most important Occasions in his whole Life; for he neither cou'd foresee what he had to expect from the *Lacedæmonians*, what would besal him on the part of his own Countrymen, nor the Consequences of his mighty Promises to *Artaxerxes*. But what Man is there that is infallible?

It may be said of *Camillus* that He likewise foresaw that the Division of the *Romans*, and the suffering a Part of them to go and dwell at *Veii* would infallibly prove the Ruin of the State, for which Reason he opposed it with great Firmness and Resolution; but in this important Service of *Camillus* to his Country we see the many Tokens of a profound Wisdom and Prudence, but nothing of that Foresight in *Themistocles*, which looks like something Prophetical. This Action of *Camillus* has undoubtedly a great Resemblance with That of *Themistocles* when he prevented those Cities, which had not appeared in Arms against *Xerxes*, from being expelled out of the Council of the *Amphictyons*, as was insisted on by the *Lacedæmonians*, who would by that means have engrossed all the Authority, and made themselves Masters of *Greece*.

But if *Themistocles* was preferable to *Camillus* on the score of Foresight, *Camillus* no less excelled *Themistocles* on the account of Justice, a Quality infinitely superior to the Former. In all the Exploits of *Themistocles* one may discover Courage joined with Cunning, whereas every

every thing in *Camillus* is sincere and open. *Themistocles* never performed any thing that might not be overmatch'd by the single Submission of *Falerii*, of which *Camillus* made himself Master by the high Veneration the Besieged had conceived of him for his Justice in sending back to them the School-Master, who had betray'd their Children into his Hands; for to know that even in War itself there are some Laws of such a nature as no good Man will violate, and that Justice ought to be prefer'd to Victory, is an Action more heroick than the Conquest of the Universe.

As for their Conduct in time of Peace, we shall find there was no small Difference between them in that respect. *Themistocles* was a great Stickler for the People, and every thing he did during his Administration tended to secure the Populace against the Incroachments and Ambition of the Nobility; whereas *Camillus*, tho' he kept fair with the People, yet his Inclinations were for the Senate and Patricians.

*Themistocles* oppress'd all Those who were most capable of serving the Republick, and got *Aristides* to be banish'd, tho' he was the most virtuous Man of the Age; whereas *Camillus* was so much a Stranger to that Spirit of Envy and Intrigue, that he always pick'd out the best of the Citizens to be his Collegues, such as knew how to be most serviceable to their Country, and made it appear that a Man might communicate his Authority to Others, without giving them a Share in his Glory.

The *Athenians* had been accustomed to lay out in Games and Shews all the Revenue arising out of their Mines in *Attica*. *Themistocles* had the Courage to abolish this improvident Custom, and caused the Money to be employ'd in building of Ships, which prov'd afterwards the Preservation of the State. There is nothing in the Life of *Camillus* that will stand in Competition with that important Service, unless we put into the Balance his prudent Regulations during his Censorship, wherein he obliged the young Men to espouse the

Widows



Widows of Those who had been slain in the Wars, and made Orphans liable to the Taxes. But these Laws seem to be the Dictates of War, whereas *Themistocles's* Decree proceeded solely from his Prudence.

The Severity with which *Camillus* treated *Manlius*, who was thrown headlong from the Capitol was very just, and commendable, if it flowed purely from his love of Liberty and regard to the Constitution; and if the Indignation he had conceived against that Criminal was not a little aggravated by an inward Jealousy of a Rival renowned for many notable Actions, who could produce thirty Spoils taken from Enemies slain by his own Hands, Forty honorary Rewards confer'd on him by the Generals under whom he had serv'd; among which were Two *mural* and Eight *civic* Crowns, and who, in short, having repuls'd the *Gauls* when they were scaling the Capitol, had confer'd on him for that important Service the glorious Name of *Capitolinus*. But *Themistocles* gave as high an Instance of his Zeal for Liberty when he condemn'd a *Greek* to Death for having explained to the *Athenians* the dishonourable Terms the King of *Persia* offered to them by his Ambassadors, and for having the Impudence to make the Language of the *Greeks* serve to interpret to them the imperious Will of a *Barbarian*. Nor is he less to be commended for his Severity to *Artabimus* of *Zelee*, whom he got to be declared an Enemy of the *Grecians* and their Allies, and had Himself and Posterity branded with Infamy for having imported the Gold of the *Medes*, not into *Athens*, but into *Peloponnesus*. I know not if this Example of Severity against Corruption was not more necessary and useful to *Greece* in that Conjunction and Situation of her Affairs, than was the Punishment of *Manlius* at that time to *Rome*; for the *Persians* were in those days more formidable from their Gold than their Courage; which made *Demosthenes* affirm that this single Action made the *Grecians* become more formidable to the *Barbarians*, than the *Barbarians* had ever been to the *Grecians*.

There

There is another Circumstance which rendered *Themistocles's* Administration very remarkable ; for when the *Barbarians* had laid *Athens* in Ashes, he did not only rebuild it, as *Camillus* did *Rome*, but he fortified it, and joined it by a Wall to the *Piræus*. But there are two things to be considered in this Enterprize, the Effect it produced, and the Manner wherein it was executed. The Effect was no better than creating in their Allies a Jealousy of their Power, and prompting the Populace to be more stubborn and mutinous in strengthening them against the Nobility ; and the Manner in which it was executed could contribute but little to his Honour, since it was gained with Fraud, Subtilty and Injustice ; and there is no Action with these Marks upon it can be allowable, tho' it may be profitable. For this Reason *Demosthenes*, in comparing these Walls of *Themistocles* with Those built afterwards by *Conon*, gives the Preference to the Last : for, as much as an Action performed openly is preferable to One effected clandestinely and by Fraud, and Victory more glorious than Circumvention and Surprise ; so much are the Walls of *Conon* to be prefer'd to Those of *Themistocles* : For *Conon* erected His after he had quell'd his Enemies, and all Those that could have obstructed him in his Design, whereas *Themistocles* built His by imposing upon his Allies. No Reproach like This ever fully'd One of the Actions of *Camillus*, where Openness and Simplicity, the essential Marks of a truly great and noble Mind, constantly shined in full Lustre.

We are not to excuse either in *Themistocles* or *Camillus* the Pride and Arrogance wherewith both the One and the Other insulted over their Fellow-Citizens, tho' it may be more excusable in *Camillus* than *Themistocles* ; for it did not appear in Him till his many Exploits and signal Services had given him some sort of Pretence to it ; whereas That of *Themistocles* broke out at a time when he had not performed any thing considerable that could give him the least Colour for it. Besides, *Camillus* gave many Instances of a Modesty never suffici-

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eatly to be admired, when after he had defeated a Party of the *Gauls* near *Ardea*, he refused to take the Office of General upon him, which had been offered him by the *Romans* then at *Viii*; and in obedience to the Laws of a City, which was not then in Being, and was no better than a Heap of Ashes, waited till that Choice was confirmed by the Handful of *Romans* who were defending the Capitol, whom he considered as the only lawful Citizens, who had a right of conferring that Office upon him; a Moderation almost without Example, far unlike that Ambition which was daily visible in *Themistocles*.

If for our better and more compleat Knowledge of Men we are not to consider them only in the Course of their Prosperities, but to turn the Tables, and view them when Fortune is at Variance with them, we shall in that case find a very great Difference between *Themistocles* and *Camillus*. One of them was banished without any apparent Reason; unless it was a Judgment upon him for having done the same thing by *Aristides*, whom he drove into Exile purely out of Jealousy of his extraordinary Worth, and for no other Reason. The Other was banish'd for vigorously opposing a Design which tended to the absolute Ruin of his Country. *Themistocles* was banish'd after he had sav'd his Country, and *Camillus* preserved His after he had been banish'd. *Themistocles*'s Exile was his Reward for having expelled the *Barbarians*, and the Arrival of the *Barbarians* was as a Punishment for the Exile of *Camillus*.

If these Causes and Conjunctions are very different, so was the Manner in which both the One, and the Other supported his Disgrace. *Camillus* in the first Heat flew out into Imprecations, which testified his Malice and Ill-will to *Rome*; but one may at the same time discover some Tokens of the Affection he still retain'd for her even in the height of his Resentment: For he does not wish any Calamities to fall upon her, but that He may have the Pleasure of delivering her, and thereby secure to himself a glorious Revenge for her Injustice

justice towards him, which is the Revenge of a Hero. We meet with nothing of This in *Themistocles*. He does not indeed curse his Country, but he goes and prostitutes himself to her Enemies. *Themistocles* in his Exile sullies the Glory of his former Exploits; he pays his Adoration to a *Barbarian*, and begs his Pardon for the Damage he had done him in the Service of his Country: whereas *Camillus* adds fresh Laurels to Those he had obtained before, and continued to the End of his Days to signalize himself with new Victories. He excels all other *Romans* before his Exile, and after it he excels Himself. The extravagant Promises of *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia* put him in the long run under a Necessity of killing himself; and there appears something so heroick in this Sentiment of preferring Death to the fatal Necessity either of revenging himself upon his Country, or of being unfaithful to his Benefactor, that I have in some sort applauded that Resolution, tho' I know very well that all wise Men will upon an impartial Judgment condemn it. This Violence committed on himself will without doubt be considered by Such not only as an undeniable Mark of Weakness, but a certain Sign that he knew not what scope to give to his Resentment against his Country, nor how much he was bound in Gratitude to his Benefactor; and that for fear of being wanting to Either he was equally wanting to Both; for in what he did he depriv'd One of a Subject, and the Other of a Friend to whom he ow'd his Service. Now no honest Man, especially a Man concerned in the Management of publick Affairs, ought to die purely for his own Sake, but for the Sake of his Friends, or his Country.

*Camillus's* Behaviour was of a quite different Nature; he had no occasion to pass the Seas in search of Enemies to *Rome*, he had them round about him; He went not to humble himself before them, and solicit them to take the Benefit of his Disgrace, and employ his Head and Hand against his ungrateful Country. He put in practice that excellent Doctrine, which *Plato*

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as at that time preaching up in the Schools at *Athens*,  
 that an honest Man, however ill used by his Country,  
 reserves always in his Heart a Mediator in her behalf,  
 and seeks all Opportunities of bringing her to herself,  
 and doing her Service. Accordingly this exalted Piety  
 in *Camillus* was rewarded with a Felicity, which no  
 Mortal ever obtained before. He was no sooner re-  
 stored to his Country but he restored his Country with  
 himself, and brought *Rome* back to *Rome*, which gave  
 him a Right to share with *Romulus* in the Title of her  
 founder; and when he had thus preserv'd *Rome*, and  
 restored her, he hindered her from falling again into the  
 same Calamities out of which he had rais'd her; for  
 when he was Fourscore and three Years old he once  
 more defeated the *Gauls*, who were returned into *Italy*  
 with an Army much more formidable than the former.  
 Now all those glorious Exploits had been lost, if like  
*Themistocles* he had given way to his Resentment; so  
 true is it that Anger is an imperious ungrateful Mistress,  
 making an ungenerous Return for the Services she re-  
 ceives, and selling her pernicious Counsels at a most  
 extravagant rate.

Having thus drawn a Parallel between these two great  
 Men with regard to their Conduct in Peace and War,  
 and their Behaviour under their Misfortunes, there re-  
 mains nothing more but to consider them with relation  
 to their Sentiments of Religion, in which there seems  
 to be no great Difference between them. *Themistocles*  
 explores the Assistance of the Gods in all his Under-  
 takings. When he had obtained the Victory at *Arte-  
 misium* he consecrated a Trophy to *Diana*, under whose  
 inspection he had performed this first Exploit; and  
 after That at *Salamine*, in Acknowledgement that pru-  
 dent Counsels are as so many Inspirations sent from the  
 Gods, he erected a Temple to the same Goddess in re-  
 turn for the good Counsel he received from Her.

In this Article *Camillus* comes not in the least behind  
*Themistocles*. After the Conquest of *Veii* he rebuilt the  
 temple to the Goddess *Matuta*. He transports the



Statue of *Juno* to *Rome*, and takes care to have that Service performed with the most religious Ceremonies; He with much Labour and Perseverance finds out the Foundations of those Temples that had been destroyed by Fire, which he re-edified, and built Another to that God, who had foretold the coming of the *Gauls*. In short, he closed his Life with an Act of Religion, consecrating a Temple to *Concord*, in thanks to the Gods for the reunion of the People with the Senate. He will without doubt be reproached for having in Contempt of the Gods caused four white Horses to be harnessed to the Chariot in which he enter'd *Rome* on the Day of his Triumph, and for neglecting the solemn Vow he had made of consecrating to *Apollo* the Tenth of the Spoils taken at *Veii*. *Themistocles* also is to be condemned for making Religion a Cloke to his political Designs, when by the Aid of fictitious Portents and Miracles he brought the People to come into his Measures; but it appears to me equally unjust to accuse, or defend two Persons, whom the Gods themselves seem to have justified. For those all-powerful Beings have given both the One and the Other signal Marks of their Good-will and Favour; they supported their Courage, and animated their Prudence on every Occasion, and favoured all their Enterprises with Success and Glory; and what is still a stronger and more extraordinary Mark of their Protection, they revenged the Wrongs done to *Camillus* by sinking *Rome* under a Deluge of Calamities; and by Inspirations, Dreams and Oracles they twice preserved *Themistocles* from the Snares of his Enemies. Now tho' the Nature of the Gods, which is Goodness itself, and which being ready to forgive, and slow to punish, doth not always manifest their Judgments in this Life, and will not suffer us to pass any certain Sentence upon Men from the Favours they have received from above, yet it may very justly be presumed that they would never have shewn such distinguishing Marks of their Love to two Persons, who had openly defy'd them by their Ingratitude and Impiety.



THE  
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P E R I C L E S.

**C**ÆSAR on a time seeing some Strangers at Rome, who were People of Distinction, carrying up and down in their Arms and Bosoms young Puppy-dogs and Monkeys, and hugging and making much of them, took occasion to ask, *Whether the Women in their Country were not used to bear Children?* by that Prince-like Reprimand gravely reflecting upon such Persons, who spend and lavish that natural Affection and Kindness upon brute Beasts, which is due and owing to Human Creatures, Those of our own kind. The Whelps and Cubs of Dogs and Apes may indeed shew an Inclination to learn any thing, and to take notice of every thing they see; but the Soul of Man has by Nature Reason which teaches him to distinguish between things, and to find fault with Those that abuse his Inclinations, by diverting it to unworthy Objects, and at the same time overlooking such as would be both reputable and profitable to them.

But the outward *Sense* being passive in receiving the Impression of those Objects that come in its way and strike upon it, it is peradventure necessary for it (*the Sense*) to entertain and take notice of every thing that appears to it, be it what it will, useful or unuseful; whereas every Man, if he will make use of his *Understanding*, hath a natural Power to turn himself upon all occasions, and to change and shift with the greatest ease to what shall seem to himself most fit. So that a Man ought to pursue and make after the best and choicest of every thing, that he may not appear to be entirely guided by *Sense*, but to have made the best use of it.

For as the Eye is pleased most with a Colour whose lively freshness revives and cherishes the Sight, so the Mind of Man has certain Objects that by Delighting it do Invite it as to its proper Good, and upon These our Affections ought to be placed.

Now these Objects are to be met with in those Works and Performances which proceed from *Virtue*, which do infuse and beget in the Minds of Readers, whilst they converse with the bare Stories and Narratives of them, a kind of Emulation and Inclination towards them, which naturally draws them on to an Imitation. Whereas in things of another nature there doth not immediately follow, upon the admiration and liking of the thing done, any strong desire of doing the like. Nay, many times on the very contrary, when we are pleased with the Work, we slight and set little by the Workman or Artist himself; as for instance, in Perfumes and Purple-dyes, we are taken with the things themselves well enough, but we look but meanly upon Dyers and Perfumers, as a sort of pitiful Tradesmen and sorry Mechanicks. Whereupon it was not amiss said by *Antisthenes*, when People told him that one *Ismenias* was an excellent Fidler or Piper; *It may be so*, said he, *but he is but a wretched paltry Fellow for all That; for otherwise he would not have been so excellent a Fidler*; meaning that he would have found some better Business to have employed himself about than Fiddling and Piping. And  
King

King *Philip* to the same purpose told his Son *Alexander*, who once at a merry Meeting had sung with great Pleasure and Skill, *Are not you ashamed, Son, to sing so well ? For it is enough for a King or a Prince to find leisure sometimes to hear others sing ; and he does the Muses no small honour, when he pleases to be but present at such Exercises and Trials of Skill.* Now He who busies himself in mean Employes, doth but bring that pains he takes about things of little or no use, as an Evidence against himself of his Negligence and slothful Indisposition to virtuous and useful Practices. And I take it for granted, that no ingenuous well-born Youth, upon viewing the Statue of *Jupiter* which stands in the City of *Pisa*, would desire to be a *Phidias*, or That of *Juno* in the City of *Argos*, to be a *Polycletus*, (the Workmen of those Statues) or to be as good a Poet as *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilochus*, because he has been delighted in reading their Poems. For it doth not necessarily follow, that if a piece of Work please for its gracefulness, therefore He that wrought it deserves our esteem. Whence it is that neither do such things profit or advantage the Beholders, upon the sight whereof there doth not arise a Zeal which may put them upon Imitation, nor an Impulse or Inclination, which may move a desire and raise an endeavour of doing the like. But 'tis Virtue alone, which doth immediately by the bare proposal of its Actions so dispose Men, that they do at once both admire the things done, and desire to imitate the Doers of them. For as to the Goods of *Fortune*, we are fond only of the Possession and Enjoyment of them ; but as to those of *Virtue*, we are in love with the Practice and Exercise of them ; for which Reason we are content to receive Those from Others, but These we are ambitious Others should receive from Us. For an historical Relation of what is honest and virtuous has such a power over Man as to put him upon a proper Action, forming the Manners of Him that considers it, not as in a Play merely to imitate it, but to do it upon Choice and Inclination.

Wherefore we also have thought fit to spend our time in writing the *Lives* of famous Persons; and we have compos'd this *Tenth Book* upon that Subject, wherein are contain'd the Life of *Pericles* and That of *Fabius Maximus*, (who managed and carried on the War against *Hannibal*.) Men alike, as in their other Virtues and good Parts, so especially in their mild and upright Temper and Demeanor, and in their being able to bear the cross-grain'd Humours and foolish Carriages of their Fellow-Citizens the Commoners, and their Fellow-Rulers, who shared with them in the Charge of the Government; by which means they became Both of them very useful and serviceable to the Interest of their Countries. Whether we take a right aim in our intended purpose, is left to the Reader to judge by those things he shall here find set down,

As to *Pericles*, he was of that Tribe or Ward in *Athens* called *Acamantis*, and of that Company or Society of People called *Cholagria*, and one of the chiefest Families and Descents of the whole City both on his Father's and Mother's side. For *Xantbippus* his Father, He who defeated the King of *Persia*'s Lieutenant-Generals in the Battle of *Mycale*, took to Wife *Agariste*, the Neice of that *Chlifthenes* who drove out the Race of *Pisistratus*, dissolved their Tyrannical Usurpation, made such good Laws, and settled such a Model of Government as was excellently well tempered and fitted for the Agreement and Safety of the People.

*Agariste* being near her time, fancied in a Dream that she was brought to Bed of a Lion, and within a few Days after she was delivered of *Pericles*; whose Body was well shap'd, but his Head was too long, and disproportioned. For which Reason it was that almost all the Images and Statues that were made of him, have the Head covered with a Helmet: The Workmen probably not being willing to expose him by shewing his Deformity. But the Poets of *Athens* plaid upon him, and called him Σχινοκέφαλος, *Schinocephalos*, that is, *Onion-pate*, or *Squill-pate*. For that which in common Language goes by the  
Name



Name of Σκίλλα a SQUILL, or Sea-Onion, the Atticks do in their Dialect sometimes term Σχίνος, Chinos. And one of their Comick Poets, Cratinus in his Play called Cbeirones, that is to say, *The Rascality*, or *The worser sort of People*, says thus of him :

*Old time, with Faction mixt in vile Embrace,  
Begot this greatest Tyrant of his Race ;  
To whom is given by the Gods above  
The lofty Name of Head-Compelling Jove.*

And again in another Play of his called *Nemesis*, or *The Revenge*, he in this manner bespeaks him :

*Yield us, thou Hospitable God, thy Aid ;  
Thou who art happy in a monstrous Head.*

And *Telecidas*, another of those Poets, saith in mockery of him, that one while

*Puzzled with nice affairs of State and Town,  
His Great-head being overset hangs down.*

And that another while,

*Only from that long over-growing Pate  
There doth arise much Trouble to the State.*

And *Eupolis*, a third Poet, in a Comedy of His called *Demi*, that is, *The People of the Boroughs*, making enquiry concerning every one of the *Demagogues* or *Leading-men*, whom he makes in the Play to come up from Hell, as *Pericles* comes to be named last, he replies :

*Why in the Devil's name, 'mongst all the Dead  
That lie below, hast brought us up the Head ?*

The Master that taught him Musick, most Authors are agreed, was one *Damon* ; (whose name they say ought to

to be pronounced with the first syllable short.) Though *Aristotle* tells us that he was thoroughly practised to Musick with one *Pythoclides*. And as to *Damon*, it is not unlikely, that he being a shrewd cunning Sophister as he was, did out of policy shelter himself under the name and profession of a Musick-Master, on purpose to conceal from the Vulgar his subtilty and skill in State-Affairs. So that under this pretence he attended as diligently upon *Pericles* in teaching him Politicks, as a Master of a *Gymnasium*, or School for Exercises, does upon young Scholars whom he is to instruct in the *Athleticks*. Yet for all that the People saw him thro' the Disguise of a Musician, and banished *Damon* the Country by Ostracism for ten Years, as an Intermedler in the Government, and one that favoured Arbitrary Power; and by that means gave the Stage occasion to play upon him. As for Instance; *Plato* one of their Comedians brought in a Person putting the Question to him (under the name of *Chiron*, who had been *Achilles's* Tutor likewise in Musick) in this manner;

*Tell me, thou mighty Chiron of the State,  
Didst thou our great Achilles educate?*

meaning *Pericles*.

*Pericles* was moreover a Disciple occasionally of *Zeno Eleates*, who discoursed and treated of natural Philosophy much after the manner as *Parmenides* did, except that he introduced a disputations method of reasoning upon things, which he used himself to, by which he would draw his Adversaries into seeming Absurdities, let them take which Side of the Question they pleased. And accordingly *Timon the Phliasan* hath given the same account of him in this pair of Verses.

*Zeno's great Force, who spoke to either part,  
Confuted all, and never fail'd in's Art.*

But He that was most conversant with *Pericles*, and furnished him most especially with a Weight and Grandeur

deur of Sense, and a more grave and solid research of those Arts by which the Populace is to be managed, and contributed most to the Majesty and Grace of his Address and Deportment, was *Anaxagoras the Clazomenian*; whom the Men of those times called by the name of *Nũs*, *Nous*, that is, Mind or *Understanding*, whether in admiration of his great and extraordinary Skill and Knowledge, as it clearly appeared to be, in the Affairs of Nature, or whether it were because that He was the first of the Philosophers, who did not commit the Government of the World to Fortune or *Chance*, nor to fatal *Necessity*, as the Cause of that Order we find things in; but set over it a pure and simple Being, endued with Understanding, which separated the similar from the dissimilar Parts, which before must have been jumbled together.

Besides the reputation *Pericles* had for Knowledge in Natural Philosophy, not only the greatness of his Spirit, and his lofty manner of speaking, which had none of the Meannesses or Scurrility that are common among the Vulgar; but also the Sedateness of his Countenance not easily provoked to Laughter, the Gravity of his Face, and the direct ordering of his Dress, so as never to be discomposed by any thing that happened to him in speaking, the easiness of his Manner in delivering himself, and many things of the same kind, made him the admiration of all that knew him.

See but his patience and greatness of Mind! One time being reviled and ill-spoken of all day long in his own hearing by a villanous and ill-tongued Rascal that cared not what he said, he bore it patiently all along without returning him one Word; altho' he did it in the open Court or the Assembly of the People, where he was at the same time engaged in the Prosecution and Dispatch of some weighty urgent Affair. In the Evening he went home as one unconcerned, this Fellow dogging him at the Heels, and pelting him all the way he went with abusive Language. As he was ready to go into his House, it being by this time dark, he

he order'd one of his Servants to take a light, and go along with the Man and see him safe home : Which was all the notice he took of him.

Now *Ion* the Poet saith, that *Pericles's* Converse and Carriage in Company was Haughty and Surly, and that the good opinion and high thoughts he had of himself was mixt with much Scorn and Contempt for others : And on the other hand he commends *Cimon's* exact Civility, and easy Compliance, and genteel well-fashioned Behaviour at every turn in all his Conversations. Well ! but let us leave *Ion* to himself, who seems to take it for granted, that in describing Virtue as well as in writing Tragedy there is a Part where we must introduce Satires to cause Laughter : But as for Those who miscalled *Pericles's* Gravity by the Name of an affected Ostentation and Grandeur of State, *Zeno* advised such Persons, That They also would try to affect the like garb of Greatness, in as much as the very counterfeiting and apeing of good Qualities doth in time, as by stealth, procure and beget an Inclination for them, and a familiarity with them.

Nor were These the only Advantages which *Pericles* had of *Anaxagoras's* Acquaintance and Conversation ; He seemed also to be advanced by his Instructions far above all that Superstition, whatever it is, which as to Meteors and the like strange Appearances doth with frightful Apprehensions possess the Minds of People, who are ignorant of the true Causes by which such Effects are naturally produced, and are mad as if the Devil were in them, and in great agony and disorder upon occasion of these Divine Prodigies, by reason of their Ignorance and want of Skill about them : Which Ignorance, Natural Philosophy discharging and freeing Men from, instead of a dreadful and unquiet troublesome Superstition, works in them a free and generous Devotion, together with good Hopes and kindly Assurances.

There is a Story, that on a time *Pericles* had brought him from a Country-Farm of his a Ram's Head with  
one

one Horn ; and that *Lampon* a Diviner or Fortune-teller, upon seeing the Horn grow strong and firm out of the midst of the Forehead, gave this for his Judgment, that there being at that time two potent Factions in the City, the One of *Thucydides* and the other of *Pericles*, the Government would come about to that One of them in whose Ground or Estate this Token or Indication of Fate had happened : But that *Anaxagoras*, when he had cleft the Skull in sunder, shewed to the Standers-by, that the Brain had not filled up its Pan or natural Place, but being sharp, of an Oval Figure, had rolled itself together, from all parts of the Vessel which contained it, in a point to that place, from whence the Root of the Horn took its rise ; which was the reason it grew single. And that for that time *Anaxagoras* was much admired for the account he gave, by Those that were present at the Operation ; and *Lampon* no less a little while after, when *Thucydides* being outed and laid aside, all Affairs of the State and Government came entirely into *Pericles's* Hands and Management.

And yet in my Opinion it is no Absurdity to say, that they were Both in the right, the natural Philosopher and the Fortune-teller ; The One so luckily hitting upon the Cause of this Event, by which it was produced ; the Other upon the End, for which it was designed. For it was the Business of the *one* to find out and give account in what manner, and by what means it grew as it did ; and of the *other* to foretel to what End and Purpose it was so made, and what it might mean or portend. Now as to Those who say that to find out the Cause of such prodigious Events is in effect to destroy any Signification they may be supposed to have ; these Men do not take notice, that at the same time, together with Divine Prodigies (the tokens of God's Pleasure or Displeasure) they defeat and render of no use those signs and marks which are contrived by Art ; such as are, for instance, the Clattering of Quoits, and the Lights of Watch-towers along the Seaside, and the shadows of the Pins of Sun-dials ; every of which things is made by  
some



some Cause which has so contrived them as to make them become signs of some other thing : But These are subjects that peradventure would better besit some other Consideration than what we are now upon.

Now *Pericles*, being yet but a young Man, stood in great awe of the People, and was more afraid of giving them any Offence ; because he was generally thought very much to resemble in his Visage the Tyrant *Pisistratus* ; and the grave Seniors of the Town, who remembered that Man, had another reason for being jealous of him when they found the same sweetness in his Voice, and the same readiness in speaking, which they had observed in the Tyrant. And therefore altho' he had a very fair Estate, and was descended of as noble a Family as Any, and had store of Friends who bore the greatest sway ; he was so far from trusting to these Advantages, that he apprehended they might procure him to be banished as a dangerous Person : And for this reason he meddled not at all with State-affairs, but in the Services of War he shew'd himself a brave Man, and one who with undaunted Courage would expose himself upon all Occasions.

But *Aristides* being dead, and *Themistocles* in Exile, and *Cimon* being for the most part kept abroad by Expeditions he made in Foreign Parts out of *Greece* ; then did *Pericles*, seeing things in this posture, apply himself to the State ; but instead of courting the rich and great Men, making choice of such Matters and Causes wherein the common People and poorer sort were concern'd, and siding with them ; which was contrary to his natural Temper, for he was not of himself given to Popularity or mean Compliances. But, as it is very likely, fearing he might, by reason of those Advantages we mentioned, fall under a suspicion and jealousy of setting up for Kingship or Arbitrary Power ; and seeing how *Cimon* courted the Aristocracy or chief Men of the Government, and was mightily beloved by Those who made the best Figure in Life, he took another way, and sheltered himself among the Crowd and Herd of the  
common

common People: By which means he did at once both secure himself, and procure an interest to serve him, when time should be, against *Cimon*.

And besides, immediately upon his Application to State-affairs, he took a quite different Course from what Others and himself had used, as to his Order of Life and Management of himself. For he was never seen to walk in any Street or Way at *Athens*, but only that which led to the Court or Town-Hall, where the People assembled, and to the Senate or Parliament-House, where the Lords sat in Council; and he avoided and left off the Invitations of Friends to Supper, and all such kind of friendly Treatment and neighbourly Acquaintance: So that in all the time he had to do with the Publick, which was not a little, he was never known to have gone to any of his Friends to a Supper; only once, and that was at a Wedding, when his near Kinsman *Euryptolemus*, his Sister's Son, married, he staid till the Ceremony of the Drink-offering, and then immediately rose from Table and went his way. For 'tis very difficult for a great Man to preserve the Dignity of his Character, if he condescends to the free and familiar way of Conversation. But where there is true and real merit, the more it is shewn the more it is esteemed, and the Men possessed of such Merit appear with greater lustre to Those who see them every day, than to Strangers. But *Pericles* not daring to trust to this Method avoided appearing in publick as much as possible, not pleading in every Case, nor coming into the Court of Judicature every time it was assembled; but (as *Critolaus* saith the *Athenians* did with the three-oar'd Galley of *Salamis*) reserving himself for Important Cases, other matters of lesser Importance being dispatched by Friends, or by Common Pleaders at the Bar. And of this number we are told *Ephialtes* made one, he who broke the Power of the *Areopagites*, the Council that sat on *Mars's* Hill; and by that means (according to *Plato's* Expression) gave the Citizens a large and racy draught of Liberty, which made the People so fierce and untractable, that as Those

who writ Comedies at that time tell us, like a wild unruly Horse, that had flung his Rider, they would be ruled no longer, but began to champ and bite *Eubœa*, and flounced, and curvetted upon the other Isles,

*Pericles* designing to make the manner of his Writing and Speaking agreeable to his manner and way of Living, and to the greatness of his Spirit and Designs, as if he had been to tune a Musical Instrument, tried how he could set off those excellent Parts of Learning he had received from *Anaxagoras* with a proper Rhetorical Colouring, or a becoming Air. And by thus joining to a Natural Greatness of Mind (as the Divine *Plato* says) those sublime Thoughts he had acquired by the Study of Natural Philosophy, and expressing those Thoughts in a beautiful manner, he infinitely exceeded all the Orators of his own time,

Upon which account they say he had the surname of *Olympius* given him, (the same Title that *Jupiter* himself was called by) tho' Some are of Opinion he was so named from those famous Works and publick Buildings, wherewith he adorned the City: Others would have him so called from the great Power he had in Publick Affairs, whether of War or Peace. Nor is it unlikely or absurd to imagine, that from those many good Qualities which met together in the same Man, the glory of such a Title might be conferr'd upon him. However the Comedies of the then Masters of the Stage, who both in good earnest, and out of merriment too, let fly many shrewd words at him, do plainly shew that he got that Appellation especially upon the account of his being an able Speaker, by their saying that he thundered and lightned, when he harangued the People, and that he carried a dreadful Thunderbolt in his Tongue.

There is a Saying also of *Thucydides* the *Milesian*, which stands on record, spoken by him pleasantly enough upon *Pericles*'s artfulness in speaking. This *Thucydides* was a Person among them of great Credit and Repute, and one who had for a very long time bandied against *Pericles* in the Government. Now when *Archidamus* the King of the

*Lacedæmonians*

*Lacedæmonians* asked him, whether *He* or *Pericles* were the better Wrestler, he made this Answer: *When I, saith he, have thrown him and given him a fair Fall, He by standing out in the denial, saying that he had no Fall, gets the better of me, and persuades People into a belief of what he says, whether they will or no; tho' they saw the quite contrary.*

Howbeit, this is certain, that *Pericles* was very wary and careful what and how he was to speak, insomuch that always whenever he went up to the Tribunal or into the Pulpit to deliver himself, he prayed to the Gods, that no one Word might unawares slip from him, which might be misbecoming or unsuitable to the matter in hand, and the occasion he was to speak to.

Indeed he hath left nothing in Writing behind him, save only some Popular Decrees or Ordinances. And there are but few in all of his notable Sayings which are recorded; as This for one, *That the Isle of Ægina* (then possessed by the Enemy) *ought to be removed, as an Eyesore to the Pyræum, a Port of Athens;* and This for another, *That he fancied he saw a War coming along towards them out of Peloponnesus.* Again, when on a time *Sophocles*, who was his Fellow-Commissioner in the Generalship, was going on board with him, and praised the Beauty of a Boy they met with in the way to the Ship, *Sophocles*, saith he, *a General ought not only to have clean Hands, but Eyes too;* meaning that a Person in such an Office and Charge should not give way even to the Temptations of sight. And moreover *Stesimbrotus* hath this Passage of him, That as he was in a Funeral Oration speaking of Those who fell in the Battle at *Samos*, he said they were grown immortal, as the Gods were. *For*, said he, *we do not see the Gods, but only by those Honours we pay them, and by those good things they receive from us, we declare our belief of their being Immortal:* And the same honours paid to those who die in the defence of their Country do prove their Immortality.

*Thucydides* describes *Pericles's* Government as an Aristocracy, tho' call'd a Democracy, but it was indeed a Government by a single Person, to wit, under the Conduct and at the Pleasure of one Man who was chief: And many others say that by Him the common People were first brought on and led to the sharing of Lands by Lot, taken from the Enemy, and to the dividing of publick Monies (formerly reserved for the uses of War) but now allowed them for seeing of Plays and Shows, and to Distributions of Salaries for publick Employments; which had this ill Effect upon them, that from a sober, modest, thrifty People, that maintained themselves by their own Labours, they became riotous and debauched; but let us look into the occasion of this change in the Government, so far as matter of Fact will direct us.

When he first entered upon a publick Employment, and was to set himself (as has been already said) against *Cimon's* great Authority, he did careſs the People what he could, and underhand curry favour with them. But finding himself come short of his Competitor in Wealth, by which advantage the Other was inabled to take care of the poor, inviting every Day some one or other of the Citizens, that was in want, to supper, and bestowing Clothes on the aged People, and breaking down the hedges and inclosures of his own Grounds, to the intent that All that would might freely gather what Fruit they pleased: *Pericles* finding he had lost the good Graces of the Citizens by these Arts of his Rival, had Recourse to a Division of the publick Revenues among the People, by the advice of *Demonides* of *Ios*, as *Aristotle* tells us; and in a short time having decoy'd and won the People, what with those Monies allowed for Shows and for Courts of Justice, and what with other Bribes and Largeſſes, he made use of their Interest against the Council of *Areopagus*, of which He himself was no Member, as having not been chosen by lot, either Annual Magistrate, or Guardian of the Laws, or King, that is, Governor of the sacred Rites, nor Chieftain of the Wars. For of old these Offices were conferred on Persons by  
 Lot,



Lot, and They who had acquitted themselves well in the discharge of these Trusts were advanced and taken into the Court of *Areopagus*. Whereupon *Pericles* having gotten so great a Power and Interest with the Populace, he so weakned the Power of this Court, as that most of those Causes which had been hitherto tried there, were by *Epibialtes's* Assistance no longer Cognisable in it, and *Cimon* was banished by Ostracism, upon pretence of his being a Favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, and a Hater of his own People of *Athens*; notwithstanding he was one who came behind none of them all for greatness of Estate and nobleness of Birth, and had won several famous and signal Victories upon the *Barbarians*, and with a great deal of Monies and other Spoils of War taken from them had mightily enriched the City; as in the History of his Life hath been set down. So vast an Authority had *Pericles* gotten among the People:

The *Ostracism*, or Banishment by Shells, (which they us'd in such Trials) was limited by Law to Ten Years, during which Term the Person banished was not to return. But the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time making an Inroad with a great Army on the Country of *Tanagra*, (which lay upon the *Attick* Borders) and the *Athenians* going out against them with their Forces, *Cimon* coming from his Banishment before his time was out, put himself in Arms with Those of his Fellow-Citizens that were of his own Tribe, and resolved by his Deeds to wipe off that Aspersión of his favouring the *Lacedæmonians*. But *Pericles's* Friends gathering in a Body together, drove him away as One under the Sentence of Exile, and forc'd him to retire. For which cause also *Pericles* seems to have laid about him the more, behaving himself very valiantly in the Fight, and to have been the gallantest Man among them all in the Action of that Day, having exposed himself to all hazard and hardship. All *Cimon's* Friends also to a Man fell in that Battle, whom *Pericles* had impeach'd as well as Him of taking part with the *Lacedæmonians*. And now the *Athenians* heartily repented them for what they had done

to *Cimon*, and long'd to have him home again, being in the close of this Fight beaten and worsted upon the Confines of their own Country, and expecting a fore War to come upon them next Spring or Summer-season. All which *Pericles* being sensible of, he made no delay in gratifying the Peoples desire; but having wrote an Edict or Order for that purpose, himself recalled the Man home. And He upon his return concluded a peace betwixt the two Cities; for the *Lacedæmonians* had a respect and kindness for him, as on the contrary they hated *Pericles* and the rest of the Demagogues or Leading-men at that time.

Yet Some say, that *Pericles* did not write that Edict or Order for *Cimon's* Revocation and Return, till some private Articles of Agreement had been made between them, and that by means of *Elpinice*, *Cimon's* Sister. Which were, *That Cimon should go out to Sea with a Fleet of two hundred Ships, and be Commander in chief of all the Forces abroad, with a design to barass and lay waste the King of Persia's Countries and Dominions; and that Pericles should have the Power at home, and govern in the City.*

But it was believed that before this time *Elpinice* had persuaded *Pericles* to be more favourable to *Cimon*, even from the time when he was tried for his Life, and came off with Banishment. For *Pericles* was one of the Committee appointed by the Commons to implead him. And when *Elpinice* made her Applications to him, and besought him in her Brother's behalf, he with a smile in merriment said, *O Elpinice, you are too old a Woman to undertake such business as this is.* Moreover when he came to the Bar to impeach him, he stood up but once to speak, and then touch'd very gently upon his Crime; as soon as he had done he went out of Court, having done *Cimon* the least Prejudice of any of his Accusers.

How then can one believe *Idomeneus*, who charges *Pericles* as if he had by treachery contriv'd and order'd the Murder of *Ephialtes* the Demagogue or Counsellor of State,

State, one who was his Friend and of his Party in the ordering of the Government; out of a jealousy forsooth, says he, and an envy of his great Reputation. I know not where this Historian pick'd up these Calumnies which he thus vomits out at this worthy Man, One who perchance was not altogether free from Fault or Blame, but yet had a generous noble Spirit, and a Soul that affected and courted Honour: Qualities or Dispositions of Mind wholly inconsistent with any such cruel or brutal Passion. But as to *Ephialtes*, the truth of the Story, as *Aristotle* hath told it, is This, That having made himself formidable to the Nobility by being a severe asserter of the Peoples Rights, in calling to Account and prosecuting Those who any way injured them, his Enemies lying in wait for him, did, by the help of one *Aristodicus*, a *Tanagrian*, privately Assassinate him.

Now *Cimon*, while he was Admiral, ended his Days in the Isle of *Cyprus*: And the Nobility seeing that *Pericles* was grown to be the greatest and foremost Man of the City, and thinking it proper there should be Somebody set up against him to give him check, and to hinder his power from degenerating into Monarchy; they set up in Opposition to him *Thucydides* of *Alopecea*, a sober discreet Person, and a near Kinsman of *Cymon's*, Who tho' less skilled in Warlike Affairs than *Cimon* was, yet was better versed in the Courts of Law and Business of State; and as he never stirred out of the City, but was always ready at hand to oppose *Pericles* in the Pleading-place where the publick Harangues were made, he quickly restored the Nobility to an Equal Share in the Government with the People. For he would not suffer the Nobility to be scatter'd up and down and jumbled in a huddle with the Populace as formerly, which had very much lessened their Credit and Interest: But taking them apart by themselves, and gathering into One the Power and Interest of them All, which was now grown considerable, he did as it were upon the balance make a Counterpoise to the other Party.

For indeed the Contest of the two Parties before Him was but a thing of secret grudge, that made but a shallow Impression, like a thing cut upon Iron, and rather shew'd a tendency to Division than any actual Division between the Nobility and People; but the open Quarrel and canvassing Ambition of these two great Men made such a Wound in the Body Politick, that from that time it continued to be divided into two Parts, One of which was called the Populace or Commons, the Other the Few or Great ones.

This put *Pericles* upon letting loose the Reins to the People, and suiting his Administration of publick Affairs to their Inclination, by contriving continually to have some publick Shew, or Feast, or Solemnity, some Entertainment and Divertisement or other in Town, to please them, wheedling the Citizens, as a School-master does his Boys, with such kind of amusements as were Instructive as well as Agreeable to them. Besides that every Year he sent out threescore Gallies, on board of which there went several of the Citizens, who were in Pay eight Months, learning at the same time and practising the Art of Navigation, that they might prove good Seamen.

Moreover he sent out many Colonies, One consisting of a thousand men, into the *Chersonese*, Another of five hundred into the Isle of *Andros*, and a Thousand into *Thrace* to dwell among the *Bisaltæ*, a People there; and others into *Italy*, when the City *Sybaris* was to be re-peopled, the Inhabitants whereof went by the Name of the *Thurians*. And This he did to ease and discharge the City of an idle, and by reason of their idleness a busy meddling rabble of People, who having little to do of their Own, would have made work by giving disturbance to the Publick; by which he at the same time provided for the Necessities of the poor Townsmen, and kept the Allies in fear of attempting any change, by sending as it were a Garrison of *Athenians* to dwell among them.

But That which gave most Pleasure and Ornament to the City of *Athens*, and the greatest Admiration even to the Astonishment of all Strangers, and which alone doth sufficiently witness for all *Greece*, that her Power so much talk'd of, and her ancient Wealth, was no Romance or idle Story, was the Magnificence of those stately publick Buildings and Dedications which *Pericles* caused to be raised and made there. This was That of all his Actions in the Government which his Enemies look'd askint at, and fell foul upon in the popular Assemblies, crying out, *that the Commonwealth of Athens had lost its Reputation, and was ill spoken of Abroad, for removing the common Bank and publick Monies of all the Grecians from the Isles of Delos, where it was to have been kept, and taking it into their own Custody; and as to the fairest excuse they had to plead for their so doing, to wit, that they took it away thence, for fear of the Barbarians, lest They should seize it, and on purpose to secure it in a safe Place, Pericles had broke the Neck of that Pretence by putting it to other uses; and how that Greece cannot but resent it as an unsufferable affront, and must needs look upon herself as treated after a tyrannical manner, when she sees that that Treasure which was upon a Necessity contributed by Her for the use and maintenance of War, is wantonly lawish'd out by Us upon our City, to gild her all over, and to adorn and set her forth as it were some proud stately Dame, hung round with precious Stones, and Statues, and sumptuous Temples, which cost a world of Money.*

Wherefore *Pericles* on the other hand informed the State, *that they were no manner of way obliged to give any account of those Monies to their Friends and Allies, insomuch as they fought and maintained a War in their Defence, and kept off the Barbarians from attacking them, and harassing their Country, while in the mean time they did not so much as set out Horse, or Man, or Ship, but only found Money for the Service; which Money, says he, is not Theirs that gave it, but Theirs that receive it, if so be that they perform the Conditions upon which they receive it. And that it was good reason, that*  
*the*



the City being sufficiently provided and stored with those things that are necessary for War, they should convert the Overplus of its Wealth to such Undertakings and Designs, as would hereafter, when they were finished, eternize their Fame, and for the present, while they are a doing, will readily supply all the Inhabitants with plenty; for there being such variety of all kind of Workmanship, this will necessarily give Life to all Sorts of Arts and Trades, and employ all Hands, which will actually put the whole City in a manner into State-pay; so that at the same time she is beautified and maintained by herself at her own Cost and Charge. For as Those who are of Age and Strength for War, are provided for and maintained in the Armies abroad by their Pay out of the publick Stock, so it being his desire and design that the rude Multitude that staid at home, and were versed in Handy-crafts, should not go without their share of publick Salaries, and yet that he would not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in among them, with the Approbation of the State, those vast Projects of buildings, and designs of Works, that would be a Work of Time before they could be finished, and which will employ sundry Arts and Occupations; That so that part of the People, that staid in the City and kept at home, might no less than Those that were at Sea, or in Garrison, or under Arms, have a fair pretence for receiving Benefit from the Publick, and having Their shares of the publick Monies. That since they made use of all Sorts of Materials, such as Wood, Stone, Brass, Ivory, Gold, Ebony, Cypress; and the Arts or Trades that wrought and fashioned them were Smiths and Carpenters, Image-makers and Plaisterers, Founders and Brasiers, Stone-cutters or Carvers and Masons, Dyers and Stainers, Gold-smiths, Ivory-cutters, Painters or Picture-drawers, Embroiderers, Turners; and Those that imported these things and conveyed them up to the Town for use, were Merchants, and Mariners, and Masters of Ships by Sea; and Those who brought and helped to bring them by Land were Waggoners and Cart-wrights, Carriers, and those that

that let Horses to hire; Carters and Muleteers, Rope-makers, Workers in Stone, Shoe-makers, Leather-dressers, Surveyors, and Menders of High-ways, Pioneers and Diggers in Mines; and that every Trade and Mystery (in the same nature as a Commander or Captain in an Army hath his particular Company of Soldiers under him) had its own hired and particular Company of Journeymen and Labourers belonging to it, to be as it were the Instrument and Body for performance of the Service; all these different Functions did distribute and scatter the Advantage and Benefit of them among the People of the Town through all Ages and Conditions, of whatsoever Trade and Occupation they might be. As the Works grew up, stately and extraordinary for Bulk and Greatness, so were they inimitable for Beauty and Gracefulness, the Workmen striving to outvie the Richness of the Materials and the Greatness of the Design, in the Curiosity and Beauty of Workmanship, the thing that was most to be admired was the haste and speed they made: For when 'twas thought any one of those Works would have taken up many Ages, they were all finished during the administration of one Man.

It is said indeed that Zeuxis hearing Agatharcus the Picture-drawer value himself for dispatching his Work with speed and ease, reply'd, *But I am a long time about mine.* For the ease and hastiness in doing a thing doth not usually give either much Strength or Beauty to the Work. But Time joined with great Labour is observed to repay the Workman in the durableness it gives his Performance: For which reason Pericles's Works are the most admired, having been done so well in a little time as to hold good for a long time after. For every several Piece of his Work had the air of Antiquity on it the very moment it was finish'd; and yet for its Vigour and Freshness it looks to this day as if it were but newly wrought: There is such a kind of flourishing Gloss upon those Works of His, which continually preserves the sight of them from being sullied by time, as if they had an ever-green spirit, and a never-fading Soul mingled in the Composition of them.

Now

Now *Pbidias* was He who had the oversight of all the Works, and was his Surveyor-General, tho' in the several Designs and Pieces there were great Masters and rare Artists employed under him. For *Callicrates* and *Ictinus* built the *Parthenon*, (that is, the Temple of the Virgin *Pallas*) which was in measure an hundred Foot every way ; and the Chapel at *Eleusin* (where the sacred Rites of the Goddess *Ceres* were celebrated) was begun by *Coræbus*, who also placed the Pillars that stand upon the Floor or Pavement, and join'd them with Architraves. But after his Death *Metagenes* the *Xypetian* rais'd the Girth or Waste of it, and set up the Pillars that are above ; and *Xenocles* the *Cholargian* roofed or arched the Lanthorn or *Doma* on the top of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

As for the Long Wall, which join'd the Port or Harbour with the Town, concerning which *Socrates* saith he himself heard *Pericles* deliver his Opinion and give order about it, *Callicrates* took That by the Great. This brave Piece of Work *Cratinus*, like a Poet as he was, sneeringly flouts at, by reason it was so long a finishing :

'Tis long since 'Pericles, if Words would do't,  
Talkt up the Wall, but yet set no hands to't.

The *Odeum* or Musick-room, which on the inside was full of Seats and ranges of Pillars, and on the outside in the Roof or Covering of it was made from one Point at top with a great many Bendings all shelving downward ; they say was so made after the Copy and in imitation of the King of *Persia's* Pavilion, and this by *Pericles's* order likewise : Upon which occasion *Cratinus* again, in his Comedy called *The Thracian Women*, rallies him thus ;

Here comes along, our goodly Jove (God bless !)  
Who's that, I pray ? ONION-HEAD *Pericles*.

The

*The Shells being scrap'd, he now has got the Model  
Of his Musick-room (help Goddess) in his Noddle.*

Then *Pericles* out of an Ambition to do something to be talked of, did first enact or make a Decree, that a Prize should be paid in the Science of *Musick* every Year at the solemn Feasts of *Minerva*, which lasted five Days together, called *Panathenaea*, whither all the People of City and Country were used to resort: and he himself being chosen Judge of the Prizes, and Bestower of the Rewards, gave order after what manner Those who were to play the Prizes were either to sing with the Voice, or to play upon the Flute, or upon the Cittern or Guitarr. And both at that time (to wit, at the Feast) and at other times also They were wont to see and hear those Prizes and Trials of Skill, in this *Odeum* or Musick-room.

Further, the Portail and Entrance of the Citadel or Castle were finished in five Years time, *Mnesicles* being the chief Undertaker of that Work. Now there was a strange accident happened in building of the Citadel, which shewed that the Goddess was so far from disliking the Work, that she help'd to carry it on and to bring it to Perfection. For one of the Artificers, who was the quickest and the handiest Workman among them All, with a slip of his Foot fell down from a great height, and appeared to be in so dangerous a Condition, that the Physicians and Chirurgeons gave him over. *Pericles* being at a loss, and not knowing what to do, *Minerva* appeared to him at Night in a Dream, and ordered a Medicine, which *Pericles* applying to the Man, did in a short time and with great ease cure him. On this Occasion it was that he set up a brass Statue of *Minerva*, called hence the Statue of *Health*, in the Citadel near the Altar, which as they say was there before his Time. But it was *Pheidias* who wrought the Goddess's Image in Gold, and hath its Name inscribed on the Pedestal as the Workman thereof. And indeed the whole Work in a manner was under his Charge, and he had (as we have

said already) the oversight of all the Artists and Workmen, because *Pericles* had a kindness for him.

And this made the poor Man to be much envied, and his Patron to be very ill spoken of, and horribly abused with Stories, as if *Phidias* had been his Pimp, and took up Ladies and Gentlewomen that came to see the Works, for *Pericles*'s use. The comick Wits of the Town, when they had got this Story by the end, made much of it, and bedash'd him with all the ribaldry they could invent, as if he had been the arrantest Whoremaster that ever lived; charging him falsely with the Wife of *Menippus*, one who was his Friend, and had been his Lieutenant in the Wars; and with the Volaries or Bird-Cages of *Pyrilampes*, who being an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, they pretended as if he were wont to present Peacocks and such fine Birds to *Pericles*'s Misses, the Women whom he gallanted and kept Company with. And why should one wonder at what such Fellows say, who play the *Satyrists* upon other Mens Lives, and daily upon all occasions with their Reproaches and evil Speeches sacrifice the Reputation of their Superiors, the *Great* and the *Good*, to the envy and spite of the Rabble, as to some evil *Genius* or wicked Spirit; whenas *Stesimbrotus* had the Insolence to charge *Pericles* with that detestable Crime of committing Incest with his own Son's Wife.

By this means it comes about, that it is a very difficult matter to trace and find out the Truth of any thing by *History*, when on one hand Those who undertake to write, living so long after the things were done, cannot arrive at the certain Knowledge of such transactions as past in the times before them; and on the other hand, that History which is contemporary and of the same standing with those Actions and Lives which it reporteth, doth partly thro' Envy and Ill-will, partly thro' Favour and Flattery, disguise and pervert the Truth.

Now when the Orators who sided with *Thucydides* and were of his Party, were at one time loudly exclaiming against *Pericles*, as one who squandered away the publick



lick stock in idle Expences, and made havock of the State-revenues, He starting up in the open Assembly put the question to the People, Whether they thought that what he had laid out was too much? and they saying, *Too much of all Conscience; Well then!* said he, *since 'tis so, let not the Cost and Charge go upon your account, but upon mine: And accordingly I will make the Inscription upon the Temples and other publick Buildings in my own Name.* When therefore they heard him say thus, whether it was out of a surprize to see the greatness of his Spirit, or out of emulation that they were not willing he should take all the honour to himself of such Magnificent Buildings, they cried aloud, bidding him to spend on and lay out o' God's Name, what he thought fit out of the publick Purse, and to spare no Cost, till all were finished.

At length being brought to push of Pike with *Tbucydides*, upon Trial of Skill which of Them should drive the Other out of the Country by Ostracism, and having not without some hazard got the better, he procured His banishment for ten Years, and then routed and broke to pieces all the opposite Party, which had stood against him. So that now the difference and quarrel being wholly at an end, and the City as it were levelled into an even temper, and made of one piece, he in a trice brought about all *Athens* to his own devotion, and got the disposal of all Affairs that belonged to the *Athenians* into his own Hands: their Customs, their Armies, their Gallies, their Islands, the Sea, and that great Power and Strength which accrued to them partly by means of the other *Grecians*, and partly also upon the account of the *Barbarians*, were all at his disposal; in a word, such a Seignory and Dominion, as was mounded and fortified with several Nations that were subject to it, and with the Friendship and Amity of several Kings, and with the Alliances of Confederate Potentates and great Lords.

After This he was no longer the same Man he had been before, nor so tame and gentle, and familiar with the Populace, as to yield himself up to Their pleasure,

and to comply with the desires of the Rabble, as a Steersman tacks about with the Wind, through all the Points of the Compass. But on the other hand, from that loose, remiss, and in some Cases corrupt way of wheedling the People, he wound and screw'd them up to an Aristocratical and Regal form of State and Government; and shewing himself upright and unblameable in his noble and sincere Aim at the best things, he did by these means generally lead the People along with their own Wills and Consents, by persuading and shewing them what was to be done; and sometimes too ruffling them, and forcing them full sore against their Will, he made them, whether they would or no, to close with what he proposed for the publick Advantage.

Wherein, to say the truth, he did but like a skilful Physician, who in a complicated and chronical Disease, as he sees occasion, one while allows his Patient the moderate use of such things as please him, another while he applies Corrosives and sharp Things to put him to pain, and administers such Medicines as may work the Cure. For there arising and growing up, as must be supposed, all manner of Distempers among a People which had so vast a Command and Dominion, He alone, as a great Master, knowing how with care to handle and deal with them all severally, and in an especial manner making that use of *Hopes* and *Fears* as his two chief Rudders, as with the One to check and stop the career of their high-flown Confidence at any time, so with the Other to raise them up and comfort them, when they lay under any discouragement: He plainly shewed by This, that *Rhetorick*, or the Art of speaking, is, in *Plato's* Sense and Language, the Government or Management of many Spirits; and that her chiefest business and design is to teach the Method and Art of managing the Affections and Passions, which are as it were the Pegs, the Stops and Keys of the Soul, which require a very skillful touch to be plaid upon as they should be.

Now the reason that made *Pericles* so prevailing, was not barely the power and force of his Expression and Language;

Language; but, as *Thucydides* assures us, the high Opinion which the People had of the Man, and the Reputation and Integrity of his Life, he being one who was free from all Corruption or Bribery, and above all considerations of Money. Who, notwithstanding he had made the City of *Athens*, which was great of itself, as great and rich as can be imagined, and tho' he were himself also grown in Power and Interest to be more than equal to many Kings and absolute Lords, who some of them also bequeathed by Will their Estates to their Children, yet he for his part did not improve the Patrimony his Father left him, or make it more than it was by one Great or Drachm.

*Thucydides* doth indeed give a plain narrative of that great Power and Interest of His; the *Comick Poets* do spitefully enough, as their manner is, affect to speak of it as a Tyrannical Power, calling his Companions and Friends about him by the name of *the New Pisistratus's Courtiers or Guards*, and demanding of him to abjure the setting up for a single Person, or exercising an Arbitrary Power, as One whose Grandeur and Eminence were unproportionable to and incompatible with a Democracy, or popular Government, and grown to be a Grievance not to be endured in a free State. Further, *Teleclides* saith, *that the Athenians had betrayed and surrendered up to Him both the Customs and Imposts of their subject Cities, and the Cities themselves, so as that he might lay Burdens upon Some and ease Others, build the Walls of These Cities and pull down Those of Others, make War and Peace with Whom he thought fit. In short, that the Interest and Strength of the State was so much in his disposal, that its Peace and Prosperity entirely depended upon him.* Nor was all this Power of his like the flourishing Condition of other State Politicians, which is commonly of no long Continuance; but having for forty Years together kept up his Authority among such great Statesmen, as *Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides*, He after the overthrow and banishment of *Thucydides* retain'd his Credit and Power for no less

than fifteen Years. And tho' the Power he had was perpetual, which before had been in Magistrates chosen annually, yet he kept himself clear of Corruption or Bribery; and yet he was not altogether idle or careless in making the most of what he had; for as to his paternal and personal Estate, which he had honestly acquired, he so ordered it, that it might neither thro' negligence be wasted or lessened; nor yet, thro' the multiplicity of publick business, in which he was engaged, give him too much trouble, or cost him much time in taking care of it, and therefore he put it into such a way of management as he thought to be the most easy for himself, and the most exact for Thrift. For all his yearly Products and Profits he sold together in a lump; and then from day to day bought in the Market as much as was necessary for the Ordinary Expence of his Family.

Upon which account it was, that his Children when they grew to Age were not well pleased with his management, nor the Women that lived with him, insomuch that they complained of this frugality in his House-keeping, which was order'd from day to day, with so much Exactness, that there was not, as is usual in a great Family and a plentiful Estate, any thing to spare, or superfluous, but all his Disbursements and Receipts were book'd and carried on as it were by Number and Measure.

Now there was but one Menial Servant of his, *Evangelus* by name, who kept up all this strictness of his Accounts; One naturally fitted above any Other, for such an employ, or at least One that owned his Qualifications for it to *Pericles* himself.

All This in truth was but the effect of his Tutor *Anaxagoras*'s wise Instructions; tho' He for his part by a kind of Divine Impulse and greatness of Spirit, which made him condemn the World, voluntarily quitted his House, and left his Land to lie fallow, and to be grazed by Sheep like a Common.

But in my Opinion the Life of a contemplative *Philosopher*, and that of an active *Statesman*, are not the same thing, for the One only employs the Mind and Under-  
standing

standing about great and good things, which Mind wants not the help of Instruments, nor needs the supply of any Materials from without for what it hath to do, so long as it only contemplates; whereas the Other, who applies his Contemplations upon Virtue to human uses, may have occasion for plenty and abundance of outward things, not only Those which are necessary for his subsistence, but Those which are handfom also and suitable to his Quality; *Pericles* found the use of them; as by that means he had it in his Power to relieve many poor Citizens.

And yet for all That there goes a Story, that his Tutor himself, poor *Anaxagoras*, while *Pericles* was taken up with publick Affairs, lay neglected; and that now being grown old, he laid himself down with his Head covered, resolving to starve himself. Which thing being by chance brought to *Pericles's* Ear, he was struck, and instantly ran to the Man, and used all the Arguments and Intreaties he could to him, lamenting not so much His Condition as his Own, should he lose such a Counsellor of State as he had found Him to be. And that upon this, as the Story goes on, *Anaxagoras* should unmuffle, and shewing himself, make an answer, *Ab* *Pericles*, said he, *They who have occasion for a Lamp, use to supply it with Oil*; meaning, that if he would have him to live, he must allow him a Maintenance.

When the *Lacedæmonians* began to shew themselves troubled at the greatness of the *Atbenians*, and to be jealous of the increase of their Power, *Pericles* did the more endeavour to inspire Courage and great Thoughts into his Citizens, and to put them upon great Actions and Exploits; in order to which he proposed an Edict or Decree in writing, to summon all the *Grecians*, in what part soever they dwelt, whether of *Europe* or *Asia*; and that every City, little as well as great, should send their Deputies to *Athens*, there to hold a general Assembly, or Convention of Estates, to consult and advise about rebuilding the *Grecian* Temples which the *Barbarians* had set fire to, and burnt down; and about discharging what they



they were indebted on account of Vows made to their Gods for the safety of *Greece*, when they fought against those *Barbarians*; also what was proper to be done with regard to Sea-affairs, that They might henceforward all of them pass to and fro and trade securely, and be at a constant peace among themselves.

Upon this Errand there were twenty Men, of Such as were each of them above fifty years of Age, sent by Commission; Five whereof were to summon the *Ionians* and *Dorians* that were in *Asia*, and the Islanders as far as *Lesbos* and *Rhodes*; and Five were to go over all the places in *Hellepont* and *Thrace* up to *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) and other Five to go to *Bœotia* and *Phocis* and *Peloponnesus*, (now called the *Morea*) and from hence to pass through the *Locrians* Country over to the neighbouring Continent as far as *Acarmania* and *Ambracia*; and the rest of the Commissioners were to take their Course thro' *Eubœa*, to the *Oetæans*, and the Gulph of *Malea*, and to Those of *Phthia* and *Achaia* and *Thessaly*: All of them to treat with the People as they pass'd, and to persuade them to come in and bear their share in the Debates and Concerts, which would be for settling the Peace, and regulating anew the affairs of *Greece*.

When all came to all, there was nothing done in this business, nor did the Cities meet by their Deputies, as was desired; the *Lacedæmonians*, as we are told, understanding crossing the design; for the first repulse it met with was in *Peloponnesus*. However I thought fit to bring in this Passage, to shew the spirit of the Man, and the greatness of his Mind for State-projects.

In his military Capacity he got himself a great Reputation for his wariness, as one who would not by his good-will engage in any Fight, which had much uncertainty in the Event and hazard in the Enterprize, and who envied not the Glory of those Generals, whose rash Adventures Fortune favoured beyond expectation, however They were admired by Others as brave Men and excellent Commanders, nor did he think them worthy his imitation: And was always used to say to his Citizens, that

that if He could help it, they should continue immortal and live for ever; meaning that He for his part would ever be tender of their Lives, and not needlessly expose them.

To this purpose seeing *Tolmidas* the Son of *Tolmaeus*, upon the confidence of his former good Successes, and flush'd with the great Honour his Warlike Achievements had procured him, making preparations to attack the *Bæotians* in their own Country at an unreasonable time, when there was no likely opportunity for carrying the Design, and that he had prevailed with many young Persons of the better Sort, and who were ambitious of signalizing their Courage, to list themselves as Volunteers in the Service, who besides his other Force made up a thousand, he endeavoured to divert him from it in the publick Assembly, telling him in that memorable Saying of his, which still goes about, *That if he would not take Pericles's Advice, yet he should not do amiss to await Time's leisure, who is the wisest Counsellor of all.* For this Saying of His he was even at that time indifferently well approved; but within a few days after, when the sad news was brought that *Tolmidas* himself was slain, having been defeated in the Battle near *Goronea*, and that a great many of the best of their Citizens were lost with him, This that *Pericles* had said gained him a high Respect, together with a great Love and Kindness among the People, looking upon him as a wise Man, and a Lover of his Countrymen.

But of all the Expeditions which have been made, That of His upon the *Chersonese* gave the People most Satisfaction, it having proved so instrumental to the Safety of those poor *Greeks* who inhabited there. For he did not only, by carrying along with him a thousand of the Citizens of *Athens*, fortify and strengthen their Cities with a competent Number of Men; but also by bracing as it were the neck of Land, which joins the *Peninsula* to the Continent, with Bulwarks and Forts all the way from Sea to Sea, he kept off and put a stop to the inroads of the *Thracians*, who lay all about the

*Chersonese,*

*Cberfoneſe*, and by that means ſhut out a continual and grievous War, with which that Country had been all along haraſſed, as being in the miſt of a barbarous People, and expoſed to frequent Robberies both from Thoſe who lived upon the Borders and from their own Inhabitants.

Nor was he leſs admired and talked of among Strangers and Foreigners for his ſailing round the *Peloponneſus*, having ſet out from a Port of *Megara*, called *Pegæ* or the Fountains, with an hundred Gallies. For he did not only pillage and lay waſte the Cities along the Sea-coaſt, as *Tolmidas* had formerly done, but alſo advancing far from Sea up into main Land, with the Soldiers he had on Board, he made the People for fear of him ſhut themſelves up, and keep cloſe within their Walls; and at *Nemea* he with main Force routed the *Sicyonians*, who ſtood their Ground and joined Battle with him, and made them turn their Backs, whereupon he ſet up a Trophy in token of his Victory. And having drawn out of *Achaia*, at that time in League with *Athens*, a ſupply of Soldiers which he put on board his Gallies, he went off with the Fleet to the oppoſite Continent; and having ſailed along by the mouth of the River *Acbelous*, he over-ran *Acarnania*, and ſhut up the *Oeniadæ* within the City-wall; and having ravaged their Country, he weigh'd Anchor for home with this double Advantage, that he appear'd terrible and dreadful to his Enemies, and at the ſame time ſafe and wary, yet ſtout and active too, to his Fellow-Citizens; for there was not the leaſt miſcarriage or miſfortune that beſel Any of Thoſe who were under his Charge during the whole Expedition.

Moreover when he ſailed to *Pontus* with a great Fleet and well equip'd, he accommodated the *Greek* Cities with what things they wanted or ſtood in need of, and treated them with great kindneſs and courteſy; and at the ſame time to the barbarous Nations that dwelt round about them, and to the Kings and Lords of thoſe Nations, he openly ſhewed the Greatneſs of the *Athenians* Power, and how void of Fear and full of Confidence they were, ſailing

sailing wherever they had a mind, and bringing the whole Sea under their Dominion. Further, he left the *Sinopians* thirteen Men of War, with Soldiers under *Lamachus's* Command, to assist them against *Timefileos* the Tyrant; and He and his Complices being driven out of the Country, he made a Decree or Order of State, that six hundred of the *Athenians* who were willing to go should sail to *Sinope*, and plant themselves there with the *Sinopians*, sharing among them the Houses and Land, which the Tyrant and his Party formerly held.

But in other things he did not comply with the giddy Humours and eager Passions of the Citizens, nor quit his own Resolutions, to go along with them at their mad rate, when being lifted up with the consideration of that vast strength they were masters of, and of that great Success Fortune had favoured them with, they were for making a second Conquest of *Ægypt*, as their own by a former Conquest, and for disturbing those Parts of the King of *Persia's* Dominions that lay near the Seaside. Nay, there were Many, who were possessed with a foolish and (as it would have proved then and hath done since) unfortunate Design for Invading *Sicily*, a Heat which afterward the Orators of *Alcibiades's* Party blew up into a Flame. There were Some also, who dreamed of *Tuscany* and of *Carthage*; and not without reason or hope, They thought, because of their large Dominion, and of the prosperous Course they had hitherto had of their Affairs.

But *Pericles* curb'd this extravagant humour of making Excursions abroad, and checked their over-busy Fancies, by turning the most and greatest part of their Force and Power to the preserving and securing of what they had already gotten; supposing it would be a considerable business if they could keep the *Lacedæmonians* under, or at least in good order, he having all along a particular pique at Them, which as upon many other occasions, so he particularly shewed by what he did in the time of the Holy War.

For whereas the *Lacedæmonians*, having gone with an Army to the City *Delpbi*, restored *Apollo's* Temple, which the *Phocians* had got into their possession, to the *Delphians* again; immediately after their Departure, *Pericles* coming with another Army brought in the *Phocians* again. And the *Lacedæmonians* having caused to be engraven on the Forehead of a Brass Wolf that stood in the Temple, the Privilege the *Delphians* had granted Them of first consulting the Oracle; He also having received from the *Phocians* the like Privilege for his *Athenians*, had it cut upon the same Wolf of Brass on his right side.

Now that he did well and wisely in this, that he kept the Force and Power of the *Athenians* within the compass of *Greece*, the Things and Passages themselves, that happen'd afterward, did bear sufficient witness. For in the first place the *Eubæans* revolted, against whom he march'd with Forces; and then immediately after News came that the *Megarians* were in Arms, and that a *Lacedæmonian* Army was upon the Borders of the *Attick* Country, under the Command and Conduct of *Pleistanax* their King. Wherefore *Pericles* went with his Army back again in all haste out of *Eubæa*, to the War which threatned home; and tho' there were many brave Fellows in Arms on the other side who dared him to fight, he did not venture to engage with them: but perceiving that *Pleistanax* was a very young man, and that he govern'd himself mostly by the Counsel and Advice of *Cleandrides*, whom the Overseers or Curators of the State (whom they call *Ephori*) had sent along with him by reason of his youth to be a kind of Guardian and Assistant to him; he privately tried what was to be done with him, and in a short time having corrupted him with Money, he prevailed with him to withdraw the *Peloponnesians* out of the *Attick* Country.

When the Army was retired and dispersed into several Quarters through their Towns and Cities, the *Lacedæmonians* being grievously offended at it, amerced their King in a great Sum of Money by way of Fine, which he  
being



being not able to pay, quitted his Country, and remov'd himself from *Lacedæmon*; and for *Cleandrides*, he fled for it, having a Sentence of Death past upon him for betraying them. This Man was the Father of that *Gylippus*, who defeated the *Athenians*, in *Sicily*. And it seems that this Covetousness was a Family Distemper, that pass'd from Father to Son: for He also whom we last mentioned was upon a like account caught in foul Practices, and expell'd his Country with Ignominy. But this is a Story we have told at large, when we treated concerning the Affairs of *Lysander*.

Now when *Pericles*, in giving up his Accounts of this Expedition, had set down a Disbursement of ten Talents as laid out upon a fit and useful Occasion, the People without any more ado, not troubling themselves to canvass the Mystery, how it was expended, freely allow'd of it. And some Historians, in which number is *Theophrastus* the Philosopher, have reported it for a truth, that Year by Year *Pericles* sent privately the aforesaid Sum of ten Talents to *Sparta*, wherewith he so far gained Those that were in any Office or place of Trust as to keep off the War; not with any intent to purchase Peace, but to get Time, to the intent that having at leisure provided himself, he might the better make a War hereafter.

Wherefore presently upon this, turning his Forces against the Revolters, and passing over into the Island of *Eubœa* with fifty Sail of Ships and five thousand Men in Arms, he overthrew and won their Cities, and drove out those of the *Chalcidians*, whom they called *Hippobotæ*, i. e. Horse-feeders, the chief Persons for Wealth and Reputation among them: and removing all the *Hæstians* out of the Country, brought in a Plantation of his own Countrymen the *Athenians* in their room to dwell there by themselves; treating those People with that Severity, for that having taken an *Attick* Ship, they had put all the Men on board to death.

After this was over, having made a Truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* for thirty Years, he

orders by publick Decree an Expedition against the Isle of *Samos*, upon this Pretence, that They, when they were ordered to come to amicable Terms with the *Milesians*, did not as they were bid to do. But as what he did against the *Samians*, he is thought to have done in favour of *Aspasia*, and to gratify some Humour or Design of hers, (she being that Country-woman) here in this Place may be a fit occasion for us to make inquiry concerning this Woman, what cunning Art or charming Force she had, so great as to inveigle and captivate, as she did, the chief Persons of the Government, and to afford the Philosophers occasion so much to discourse about her, and not to her disparagement neither.

Now that she was a *Milesian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Axiocbus*, is a thing acknowledged. And they say that she, in imitation of one *Thargelia* a Courtesan descended from the ancient *Ionians*, used to make her Addresses to Personages of the greatest Power: For that same *Thargelia* being a handsom Woman, and having a graceful Carriage and a liveliness of Spirit, kept Company with a great many of the *Greeks*, and brought the greatest part of them over to the King's Interest: and by that means, being Men of the greatest Power and Quality, she sow'd the Seeds of the *Median* Faction up and down in several Cities.

And for this *Aspasia*, They say that she was courted and carested by *Pericles* upon the account of her Wisdom and Knowledge in State-Affairs. For *Socrates* himself would sometimes go to visit her, and some of his Acquaintance with him; and Those who used her Company would carry their Wives along with them to her, as it were to Lecture, to hear her Discourse: tho' the House she kept was by no means reputable, nor her Employment consistent with Modesty or Decency; for she kept with her a great many Women of Pleasure. Now *Æschines* saith also that there was one *Lyficles* a Gravier, who from being of a mean Family, did, by keeping *Aspasia* Company after *Pericles's* Death, come to be a chief Man among the People of *Athens*. And in a

Book of *Plato's*, intituled *Menexenus*, tho' the first part of it is written with the Air of a Romance, yet there is so much of true History in it, that she appears to have been a Woman, with whom many of the *Athenians* convers'd, and often resorted to, as the common Opinion was, upon the account of her Rhetorick, and her abilities of Discourse.

But I must needs say for *Pericles*, that the inclination and fancy he had for her appears rather to have proceeded from the Passion of Love. For he had a Wife that was near of kin to him, who had been married formerly to *Hipponicus*, by whom she had a Son, *Callias* by name, surnamed the *Rich*; as also she brought *Pericles*, while she liv'd with him, two Sons, *Xanthippus*, and *Paralus*. Afterwards when they could not well agree nor live together, he parted with her, with her own Consent, to another Man, and Himself took *Aspasia* to Wife, whom he loved with wonderful Affection; of which this Instance is handed down to us, that every day, both as he went out, and as he came in from Business abroad, he constantly saluted her.

In the Comedies she goes by the Name of young *Omphale* and *Deianira*, (the one *Hercules's* Mistress, the other his Wife) and again, she was called *Juno*, (as *Pericles* himself was called *Jupiter*.) *Cratinus* hath plainly, and in downright terms, given her out for a Whore or Harlot, in these Verses, speaking of her Mother;

*Of Juno, fair Aspasia by Name,  
The good old Beldame's safely brought to Bed;  
A wanton Minks, a Whore, a Thing past shame.*

It should seem also that he had a Bastard by her, concerning whom *Eupolis* in a Play of His, called, *The publick Affairs*, brings in *Pericles* asking in this manner;

*And is my Bastard-Son alive, d'ye say?*

And then brings in *Pyronides* making answer:

M 2

*Alive*

*Alive and would ere this many a fair day  
Have married been, did not fear of foul play  
From a Wife like his Mother keep him at a stay.*

Further they say that this *Aspasia* was so celebrated a Beauty in her time, that *Cyrus*, who made War against his Brother King *Artaxerxes* for the *Persian* Monarchy, gave Her whom he loved the best of all his Misses or Concubines, the Name of *Aspasia*, who before that was called *Milto*. She was a *Phocian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Hermotimus*, who when *Cyrus* fell in Battle, was carried to the King, and was in great Favour at Court. These things coming into my Memory, as I am writing this Story, it might look like an Omision in me if I shou'd pass them by.

Now the thing They quarrel with *Pericles* for, was that he propos'd to the Assembly the War against the *Samians*, and had it enacted mainly in favour of the *Milesians*, upon the Request and Intreaty of *Aspasia*. For these two States waged a War for the Mastery of *Priene*, and the *Samians* getting the better on't refus'd to lay down their Arms, and to have the Controversy betwixt them debated and decided before the *Athenians*, as they order'd they should.

Wherefore *Pericles* providing a Fleet, went and broke up the *Oligarchy* which was at *Samos*, and taking fifty Hostages of the principal Persons of the Town, and as many of their Children, he sent them to the Isle of *Lemnos*, there to be kept.

Tho' there are Some do say that every one of those Hostages did severally proffer him a Talent a Head by way of Ransom, and that Those who had no mind to have a *Democracy* or popular Government in the City, tendred him many other Presents. Moreover *Pissuthnes* the *Persian*, one of the King's Lieutenants, bearing some Good-will to the *Samians*, sent him ten thousand Pieces of Gold to excuse the City. Howbeit *Pericles* would receive none of all This, but after he had taken that Course with the *Samians*, as he thought fit, and set

set up a Democracy among them, he sail'd back to *Athens*.

But they immediately revolted, *Pissuthnes* having privately conveyed away their Hostages for them, and provided themselves with all things necessary for the War. Whereupon *Pericles* came out with a Fleet a second time against them, whom he found not idle with their Hands in their Pockets, nor in a sneaking Posture, as if they were daunted at his coming, but altogether resolved to try for the Dominion of the Sea.

The issue of it all was, that after a brisk and sharp Sea-fight near the Island called *Tragia*, (that is, the Isle of Goats) *Pericles* obtained a gallant Victory, having with forty and four Sail, taken, routed, and sunk threescore and ten of the Enemies, whereof twenty were Men of War.

And pursuing his Victory he made himself Master of the Port or Harbour, laid Siege to the *Samians*, and block'd them up; who yet notwithstanding were so hardy and venturous as to make Sallies out, and fight under the City Walls. But after that another greater Fleet, sent as a fresh supply from *Athens*, was arriv'd, and that the *Samians* were now shut up with a close Leaguer on every side, *Pericles* taking with him threescore Gallies, sailed out into the main Sea; with a resolution, as most Authors give the account, to meet with a Squadron of *Phenician* Ships, that were coming for the *Samians* Relief and Assistance, and to fight them at as great distance as could be from the Island; but, as *Sesimbrotus* will have it, with a design of putting over to *Cyprus*: which doth not seem to be probable. But which soever of the two was his intent, 'tis plain he was in an error, and by his doing as he did, gave occasion to a scurvy miscarriage.

For he being put to Sea, *Melissus* the Son of *Ithagenes*, a Man of Parts, and a Philosopher, being at that time Admiral of *Samos*, made but little reckoning either of the Ships that were left, in respect of their small number, or of the Commanders themselves, in



regard of their want of Skill, and upon this account prevailed with the Citizens to attack and set upon the *Athenians*. And the *Samians* having won the Battle, and taken several of the Men Prisoners, and sunk and spoiled several of the Ships, they thereby became masters of the Sea, and brought into Port a fresh supply of Ammunition and Provision necessary for holding out a Siege, of which they were before much in want. *Aristotle* saith too, that *Pericles* himself had formerly been worsted by this *Melissus* in a Sea-fight.

Now the *Samians*, that they might require an Affront which had before been put upon them, marked by an Inscription or Brand those *Athenians* whom they took Prisoners in their Foreheads with the Picture of an Owl, (which is their City Crest,) because the *Athenians* had marked the *Samians* before with a *Samena*, which is a sort of Ship, somewhat low and flat in the forepart of it, so as to look Snout-nosed, but wide and large, and well spread in the Hold, by which it both keeps snug upon the Water, and proves a swift Sailor besides. And it was so called, because the first of that kind was seen at *Samos*, having been built there by order of *Polycrates* the Tyrant. To these Marks or Brands upon the *Samians* Foreheads, they say, that that Passage in *Aristophanes* hath a secret allusion, where he saith,

*The Samians are a Letter'd People.*

*Pericles*, as soon as News was brought him of the Disaster that had befallen his Army, made all the haste he could to come in to their relief, and having got the better of *Melissus*, who bore up against him, and having put the Enemies to flight, he presently hemm'd them in with a Wall, resolving to master them and take the Town, rather with some Cost and Time, than with the Wounds and Hazards of his Citizens.

But inasmuch as it was a hard matter to keep in the *Athenians*, who were vexed at the Delay, and were eagerly

eagerly bent to fight, he dividing the whole multitude into eight Parts or Bodies of Men, so ordered the Business by Lot, that that Part which had the *white Bean* should have leave to feast and take their Ease, while the other seven were busy a fighting. For which reason they say also, that People, when at any time they had been merry and enjoy'd themselves, call such a Day a *White Day*, in allusion to this *white Bean*.

*Ephorus* the Historian tells us besides, that *Pericles* made use of Engines of Battery for the first time in this Siege, being much taken with the strangeness of the Invention, and that for this purpose he had with him *Artemio* the Engineer; who being lame, was used to be carried about in a Litter or Sedan where his attendance was required, and for that reason was called *Periphoretus*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* disproves This out of *Anacreon's* Poems, where mention is made of this *Artemio Periphoretus* as living several Ages before the *Samian War*, or this Siege of *Samos* by *Pericles*. And he says that *Artemio* being a Man who lov'd his Belly and his Ease, and had such a tender apprehension of Danger, so as to be struck down with fear at the very Thoughts of it, did for the most part keep close within door, having two of his Servants to hold a brazen Shield over his Head, that nothing might fall upon him from above: and if he were at any time forced upon necessity to go abroad, that he was carried about in a Pallankeen or little hanging Bed, close to the very Ground almost, and that for this reason he was called *Periphoretus*.

In the ninth Month the *Samians* surrendering themselves, and delivering up the Town, *Pericles* pull'd down their Walls, and seiz'd their Shipping, and set a Fine of a great Sum of Money upon them; part of which they paid down upon the nail, and the rest they agreed to bring in by a certain time, and gave Hostages for security.

Now *Duris* the *Samian* makes a tragical outcry of this Story, charging the *Athenians* and *Pericles* with a great

great deal of Cruelty, which neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Aristotle* hath given any relation of: (but it is likely enough that that Author had little regard to Truth:) As, that he brought the Captains of the Gallies and the Seamen into the Market-place at *Miletum*, and there bound them fast to Boards for ten days, and then already half dead, he order'd them to be kill'd, by beating out their Brains with Clubs, and their dead Bodies to be flung out into the open Streets and Fields unburied.

But as for *Duris*, he being One, who even where he hath no private concern of his Own, is not wont to keep the historical Accounts he gives within the compass of truth, it is the more likely that upon this occasion he hath aggravated the Calamities which befel his Country, on purpose to draw an *odium* upon the *Athenians*.

*Pericles*, after the Overthrow of *Samos*, as soon as he returned back to *Athens*, took care that Those who died in the War should be honourably buried, and himself pronounced their funeral Oration at their Interment, in Commemoration of their Virtues, as the Custom is even to this Day.

On this account he was so highly admir'd and esteem'd, that as he came down from the Pulpit (or Place where they delivered their Speeches) the Ladies came and complimented him, taking him by the Hand, and crowning him with Garlands and Ribbons, as they used to do Gamesters that won the publick Prizes; only *Elpinice* coming near said to him, *These are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, and such as deserve our Chaplets, who have lost us so many worthy Citizens, not in a War with Phœnicians or Medes, (Enemies and Foreigners) as my Brother Cimon, but for the Overthrow of a City that was in Alliance and of the same Country and Kindred with us. As Elpinice spoke these Words, he gently smiling, as 'tis said, returned her this Verse of Archilocus for answer,*

*Old Woman, as you are,  
You should not powder Hair,  
Nor, as you walk, perfume the Air;  
Leave these things to the Young and Fair.*

Now *Ion* saith of *Him*. that upon this Exploit of his conquering the *Samians*, he entertained a strange and high Conceit of himself, in that *Agamemnon* was ten Years taking a barbarous City, but He had in nine Months time vanquished and reduced the chiefest and the most powerful People among all the *Ionians*. And indeed it was not without reason that he assumed this Glory to himself; for, to say the truth, there was much Uncertainty and great Hazard in this War, if (as *Thucydides* tells us) the *Samian* State were come to that pitch, that they were within a very little of wresting the whole Power and Dominion of the Sea out of the Hands of the *Athenians*.

After This was over, a War from *Peloponnesus* already breaking out in full Tide, he advised the People to send Assistance to the *Corcyraens*, (the People of the Island now called *Corfu*) who were invaded and set upon by the *Corinthians*, and to take into their Protection and Alliance an Island so strengthened, as that was, with naval Power; seeing that the *Peloponnesians* were just ready to declare against them, and fall upon them.

The Commons readily consenting to the motion, and voting an Aid and Succour for them, he dispatch'd away *Lacedæmonius*, *Cimon's* Son, having only ten Ships along with him, as if it were out of a design to affront and abuse him. For there was a great Kindness and Friendship betwixt *Cimon's* Family and the *Lacedæmonians*; wherefore that *Lacedæmonius* might lie the more open to a Charge, or Suspicion at least, of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, and playing booty with them, if he perform'd no considerable or handsom Exploit in this Conduct and Service, he allowed him such a small number of Ships, and sent him out against his Will: And indeed he did wholly, by all means he could, make it  
his

his business to hinder *Cimon's* Sons from rising in the State, pretending that by their very Names they were not to be look'd upon as Natives of the Country, or free *Athenians*, but Foreigners and Strangers, inasmuch as one's Name was *Lacedæmonius*, another's *Thessalus*, and the third's *Eleus*; and they were all three of them, as it was thought, born of an *Arcadian* Woman.

Wherefore *Pericles* being but ill spoken of upon the account of these ten Gallies, as having afforded but a small Supply to the poor People that desired it, and given a great Advantage to Those who might call him in question, he sent out many more Ships afterwards to *Corcyra*, which arrived after the Fight was over.

The *Corinthians* at this, being angry with the *Athenians*, accused them publicly at *Lacedæmon*, and the *Megarians* joined with them, complaining that they were, contrary to common Right and the Articles of Peace agreed upon Oath among the *Grecians*, kept out and driven away from every Market and from all Ports, where the *Athenians* had any Power, to the hindrance of Commerce, and the decay of their Trade. And Those of *Ægina*, having been grievously ill used and treated with Violence, made their Supplications in private to the *Lacedæmonians* for redress, as not daring openly to complain of the *Athenians*. In the mean time the City *Potidæa* (being under the Dominion of the *Athenians* then, but a Colony formerly of the *Corinthians*) having revolted, was beset with a formal Siege; which prov'd an occasion of hastning on the War.

Notwithstanding all This, there being Embassies sent to *Athens*, *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to bring several of those Complaints and Matters in dispute to a fair Determination and Decision, and to pacify and allay the Heats of the allied Parties; which makes it very likely that the War would not upon any other Grounds of Quarrel have fallen from all sides upon the *Athenians*, could They have been prevail'd with to repeal that Ordinance and Decree of theirs against the *Megarians*, and to be reconciled to them.

Upon



Upon which account, since *Pericles* was the Man who mainly opposed it, and stirr'd up the People against them, continuing in the same peevish Humour to the last against those of *Megara*, He alone bore the blame, and was looked upon as the only Cause and Promoter of the War.

They say moreover, that Ambassadors went by Order from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens* about this very Business; and that, when *Pericles* pleaded against them a certain (1) Law, which forbade (1) *This was a Law of his own making.* the taking down the Tablet, wherein the Decree or publick Order was written, one of the Ambassadors, *Polyarces* by Name, should say, *Well! do not take it down then, but turn the Tablet inward; for there is no Law, I suppose, which forbids That.* This pretty turn of wit, which might have served for a handsom Expedient, had not the least Effect upon *Pericles* as to altering the Resolution he had taken against the *Megarians*.

There was then, in all likelihood, some secret Grudge and private Animosity, which he had against the *Megarians*. Yet He, upon the pretence of a publick and manifest Charge against them, as that they had cut down a holy Grove dedicated to the Gods, or imbezelled a piece of Ground consecrated to pious Uses, obtained an Order for sending an Herald to them, and the same Person to the *Lacedæmonians*, with an Accusation of Sacrilege against the *Megarians*. It is not to be denied but *Pericles* was the Author of this Order, which however contain'd nothing but Complaints full of Meekness and Humanity, and seem'd in Appearance to aim at nothing else but a friendly compofure of all Differences. But *Anthemocritus* the Herald dying upon the Road, and it being suspected that the *Megarians* had a Hand in it, *Charinus* writes a Decree against them, that there should be an irreconcilable and implacable Enmity thenceforward betwixt the two Commonwealths; and that if any one of the *Megarians* should but set his Foot upon any part of the *Attick* Territories, he should be put to death; and

and that the Commanders, when they take the usual Oath, should, over and above That, swear that they will twice every Year make an Inroad into the *Megarians* Country; and that *Anthemocritus* should be buried near the *Tbriasian* Gates, which are now called the *Dipylon* or Double Gate.

On the other hand, the *Megarians* utterly denying and disowning the Murder of *Anthemocritus*, threw the whole business, and the guilt, if any, upon *Aspasia* and *Pericles*: to which purpose they make use of those famous and commonly known Verses out of a Play of *Aristophanes*, called the *Acbarnes*:

*Youngsters of Athens went to Megara,  
Mad-fuddle-caps, to keep blind Holiday,  
And stole Simætha the Town-Whore away,*

*Nettled at this, Megarian Youth did plot  
Reprisal, and to Town by stealth they got,  
Where two Aspasian Harlots went to pot.*

The true Rise and occasion of this War, what it might be, is not easy to find out. But that the Decree we mentioned, was not repeal'd and annulled, All do alike charge *Pericles* with being the cause of. However there are Some who say that he did out of a great sense and height of Spirit stand it out stiffly, with a Resolution for the best; accounting that the Demand of the *Lacedæmonians* in behalf of the *Megarians*, was design'd for a trial of their compliance, and that a Concession would be taken for a confession of Weakness, if they durst not do otherwise. And Others there are who say that he did rather in an arrogant Bravado and a wilful humour of Contention, to shew his own Gallantry and Power, slight and set little by the *Lacedæmonians*.

But the weakest reason for entering into a War, and which is confirmed by most Witnesses, was this. *Pbidias* the Statuary had, as hath before been said, undertaken

to make the Statue of *Minerva*. Now he being familiarly acquainted with *Pericles*, and a great Favourite of his, had many Enemies upon his account, who envied and maligned him : Who also to make trial in a Case of his, what kind of Judges the Commons would prove, should there be occasion to bring *Pericles* himself before them, having tampered with *Menon* one who had wrought with *Pbidias*, they place him in the Court with a Petition, desiring publick Security upon his Discovery and Impeachment of *Pbidias* for things done by him against the State. The People admitting of the man to tell his Story, and the Prosecution being agreed upon in the Assembly, there was nothing of Theft or Cheat proved against him. For *Pbidias* had immediately from the very beginning so wrought and wrapt the Gold that was used in the Work, about the Statue, and that by the Advice of *Pericles*, that they might take it all off, and make out the just weight of it ; which *Pericles* also at that time bad the Accusers to do.

But the Glory and Reputation of his Work was that which burden'd *Pbidias*, and crushed him with Envy ; especially that work of His in which he represents the Fight of the *Amazons* upon the Goddess's Shield ; He had there express'd a kind of Figure or Resemblance of himself, like a bald old Man, holding aloft a great Stone with both Hands ; and had put in a very fine Picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon*. And the fashion and posture of the Hand, which held out the Spear over-against *Pericles* his Face, was with that curious Art contrived, as if it meant to hide the likeness, which yet sufficiently shew'd itself on either side.

*Pbidias* was carried away to Prison, and there died of Sickness, but Some say of Poison, to raise a Slander or a Suspicion at least upon *Pericles*, tho' it were by the Procurement and Preparation of his Enemies.

As to the Informer *Menon*, upon *Glycon*'s proposal, the People made him free from Payment of Taxes and Customs, and ordered the Military Officers to take

care of his safety, so that nobody might do him any harm.

About this time *Aspasia* was indicted of Impiety or Irreligion, upon the Complaint of *Hermippus* a Writer of Comedies, who also laid further to her Charge that she was Bawd to *Pericles*, and entertained Citizens Wives and Daughters for his use. And *Diopithes* proposed a Decree, that Information should be given in against such Persons as deny a Deity, and Those who teach or make Discourses concerning Meteors and other Appearances in the Sky; by these last Words aiming in show at *Anaxagoras*, but really striking at *Pericles*.

The People receiving and admitting all Accusations and Complaints, they came, at last, to enact a Decree, at the motion of *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* should bring in the Account of the Monies he had expended, and lodge them with the *Prytanes*, the Magistrates and Judges of the Treasury; and that the Judges, after having given their Suffrages inscrib'd on Billets taken from the Altar, should examine and finally determine the Business in the City. This last Article indeed *Agnon* took out of the Decree, but moved that the Cause should be referred to the Judgment of the 1500, (that is 50 out of each Tribe) who were to decide whether the Action was to be laid for *Rapine* and *Plunder*, or under the general Name of *Injustice*.

As to *Aspasia*, *Pericles* made shift to beg her off, having shed abundance of Tears at the Trial, as *Æschines* makes the Relation, and besought the Judges in her behalf. But fearing how it might go with *Anaxagoras*, he sent him away, and brought him onward on his way out of the City. And whereas he had in *Phidias* his Case miscarried, and found the People averse to him, being afraid of a Court of Judges, he set fire to the War, which hitherto had lingred and smothered, and blew it up into a Flame; hoping by that means to scatter those Mists of Impeachments which they were raising against him, and to lower that Envy which hung over him;

him; the City usually throwing herself upon Him alone, and trusting to his sole Conduct, upon the urgency of great Affairs and publick Dangers, by reason of his Authority and the Sway he bore.

And These are given out to have been the Causes, for which *Pericles* would not suffer the People of *Athen*s to comply with the *Lacedæmonians*, or yield to their Proposals. However the Truth of it, whether it were so or no, cannot be well known.

The *Lacedæmonians* for their part having an assurance, that if they could once pull him down and remove him out of the way, they might be at what Terms they pleased with the *Athenians*, they sent them Word, that they should expiate and drive out from among them that horrid Crime (meaning the Pollution of *Cylon*) wherewith the Kindred of *Pericles* on the Mother's side were tainted, as *Thucydides* hath told the Story. But the Business proved quite contrary to what Those who sent this Message expected. For instead of bringing *Pericles* under a Suspicion and a Reproach, they brought him into a far greater Credit and Esteem with his Citizens; as a Man whom their Enemies did most mightily hate and fear. Wherefore before *Archidamus*, who was at the Head of the *Peloponnesians*, made his Incurſion upon *Attica*, *Pericles* told the *Athenians* aforehand, that if *Archidamus*, while he laid waste and made havock of every thing else in the Country, should forbear and spare his Estate he had there, either upon pretence of some Friendship, or Right of Hospitality, that was betwixt them (as having been one another's Guests at some time or other) or out of purpose to give his Enemies an occasion of traducing and speaking Evil of him, that then he did freely bestow upon the State all that his Land and Houses in the Country, to be employ'd in the publick Use and Service.

The *Lacedæmonians*, together with their Allies, came with a great Army, and invade the *Athenian* Territories, under the Conduct of King *Archidamus*; and laying waste the Country, march'd on as far as *Acarnæ*,



and there pitch'd their Camp; presuming that the *Athenians* would never endure that, but would come out and fight them for their Country's and their Honour's sake. But *Pericles* look'd upon it as a dangerous Adventure, to engage in Battle, were it in defence of the City itself, against threescore thousand armed Men of *Peloponnesians* and *Bæotians*; for so many they were in number, that made the Inroad at first: And he endeavoured to appease Those, who were desirous to fight, and were griev'd and discontented to see how things went, and gave them good Words, saying, That *Trees when they are lopt and cut, grow up again in short time, but Men being once lost cannot easily be recover'd.*

He did not convene the People into an Assembly, for fear they should force him from his own Resolution, or drive him beside his own Purpose: But as a skilful Steers-man or Pilot of a Ship, who, when a Storm ariseth, or a sudden gust of Wind sets hard at Sea, having put all things on board to rights and fitted his Tackle, makes use of his Art of Navigation, and minds only the Business of the Ship, without regarding the Tears and Intreaties of the Sea-sick and fearful Passengers: so *Pericles* having shut up the City-gates, and placed Guards at all Posts for security, made use of his own Reasons and Purposes, little regarding Those that bawl'd out against him, and were angry at his Management. Altho' there were a great many of his Friends that lay hard at him, requesting him to do otherwise, and many of his Enemies threatening and accusing him for doing as he did; and Many made Ballads, and Lam-poons, and Libels upon him, which were sung about Town to his Disgrace, reproaching his Generalship for being cowardly, and throwing up tamely or treacherously all their Concerns into the Enemies Hands.

And *Cleon* also, having got into Credit and Favour with the People so as to set up for a Demagogue, and seeing how the Citizens were displeased with him, was one of those that insulted him; as *Hermippus* hath made

it appear in these *Anapests* of his, a kind of Comick or Lyrick Verses :

*Why, King of Satyrs, dost thou fear  
To wield the Sword, or tofs the Spear ;  
Content to talk big Words of War ;  
Speaking as (1) Tele's Soul possessest  
The Cavern of thy Coward Breast ?*

*But nothing can on Thee prevail :  
The Whetstone sharpens blunted Swords,  
Cleon throws out provoking Words ;  
But Thou canst bear, as long as He can rail.*

However *Pericles* was not at all moved by any of these Practices, but took all patiently, and in silence underwent the Disgrace they threw upon him, and the Ill-will they bore him. And sending out a Fleet of a hundred Sail to *Peloponnesus*, he did not go along with it in Person, but stay'd behind, that he might look after home and keep the City in order, 'till the *Peloponnesians* should break up Camp and be gone. Yet to court and caress the common People, who were jaded and in disorder on account of the War, he reliev'd and refresh'd them with Distributions of publick Monies, and made a Law for the Division of Lands by Lot, and the Plantation of Colonies. For having turn'd out all the People of *Ægina*, he parted the Island among the *Arbenians*, according as their Lot fell.

And it was some comfort to them and ease in their Miseries, that their Enemies were Sufferers as well as themselves. For they in the Fleet sailed round the *Peloponnesse*, ravaged a great deal of the Country, and pillaged and plundered the Towns and smaller Cities : And *Pericles* in Person made an Incurſion into the Territories of the *Megarians*, where he laid all in Ruins. By which means it appears, that the *Peloponnesians*, tho'

(1) *A Man of great Reputation among them for his Courage.*

they did the *Atbenians* a world of Mischief by Land, yet suffering as much themselves from them by Sea, would not have drawn out the War to such a length, but would quickly have given it over, as *Pericles* at first foretold they would, had not some Divine Power crost human Purposes.

In the first place there was a pestilential Disease or Murrain, that seiz'd upon the City, and ate up all the Flower and Prime of their Youth and Strength. And it had this further ill Effect, that it not only affected their Bodies, but also their Minds too, in such a manner as to set them entirely against *Pericles*; and as Patients grown delirious in a high Fever use to behave themselves toward their Physician, or be it their Father, so they were ready to fall foul upon him and do him a Mischief. For it had been buzz'd in their Ears by his Enemies, as if he were in the Fault, persuading them that the occasion of the Plague was the crouding of so many Country People together into the City; in that they were forced now in the Summer time in the heat of the weather to dwell a great many of them together in pitiful little Tenements and sultry Hovels, enough to stifle them; and to be tied to a lazy course of Life within doors, when-as before they used Exercise and lived in a pure, open and free Air. *The Cause and Author of all this*, said they, is *He, who upon the account of the War hath poured a multitude of People from the Country in upon us within the Walls, and puts so many Men as he has here upon no employ or service, but keeps them pent up like Cattle in a Pound, and lets them be over-run with Infection from one another, affording them neither shift of Quarters, nor any Refreshment.*

He designing to remedy these things, and withal to do the Enemy some Inconvenience, got a hundred and fifty Sail of Ships ready, and fill'd them with Men: and having embarked many stout Soldiers, both Foot and Horse, was a out to weigh Anchor, giving great Encouragement of hope to his Citizens, and no less an Alarm of fear to his Enemies, upon the sight of so  
great

great a Force. And now the Vessels having their complement of Men, and *Pericles* being gone aboard the Admiral his own Galley, it happened that the Sun was in an Eclipse, and it grew dark on a sudden, to the extreme Affrightment of them all, looking upon it as a dismal Token, and an unlucky ill-boding *Omen*. Wherefore *Pericles* perceiving the Pilot or Steersman seiz'd with a great Fear, and at a stand what to do, he took his Cloke and put it before the Man's Face, and muffling him up in it so that he could not see, he asked him if That appear'd so terrible to him, and if he drew any ill Omen from it. He answering, No; *Why*, said he, *and what difference can you make between the one and the other, unless it be that what causes the Eclipse, is bigger than a Cloke?* But these are things fit to be discoursed in the Schools of Philosophy.

*Pericles*, after he had put out to Sea, as he seems not to have done any other Exploit besitting such an Apparade and Equipage; so when he had laid Siege to the holy City *Epidaurus*, which he flatter'd himself could not hold out long against him, he miscarried in his Design by reason of Distempers with which his Army was infected, which spread not only over the *Athenian* Troops, but also infected all those who came near their Camp.

After this finding that the *Athenians* were very ill-affected towards and highly displeased with him, he tried and endeavoured what he could to appease them by giving them good Words, and to recover the Confidence they once had in him. But he could not allay their Anger, nor persuade them to any thing, nor prevail with them in ought, till they had pass'd their Votes upon him, and by taking the staff into their own hands had taken away his Command from him, and fined him in a round sum of Money; which by their Account who say least, was fifteen Talents, and they who reckon most Fifty. Now He who was set down at his Trial to be his Accuser, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus* tells

tells us; but *Simmias*, according to *Theophrastus*; and *Heraclides Ponticus* has named *Lacratidas* for the Man.

But the publick Heats and Animosity soon came to Repose, the Commonalty having left their Spleen and Passion (as Wasps do their Sting) in the Wound they had given him: But his domestick Concerns were in a melancholy condition, he having lost not a few of his Friends and Acquaintance in the Plague, and those of his Family having long since been in disorder and in a kind of mutiny against him. For the eldest of his lawfully-begotten Sons, *Xanthippus* by name, being both by nature given to Expence, and marrying a young Wife, and one that loved an expensive manner of Life as well as himself, the Daughter of *Isander*, (who was the Son of *Epylicus*) was highly offended at his Father's niggardly thrift, who gave him but a scanty bare Allowance, by little and little at a time. Wherefore he sent to a Friend one day, and borrowed some Money of him, in his Father *Pericles's* name, pretending it was by his Order. But the Man coming afterward to demand the Debt, *Pericles* was so far from yielding to pay it, that he sued him for demanding it. Upon which the young Man *Xanthippus* thought himself so hainously used and highly disoblighd, that he openly reviled his Father, and ridiculed him by telling Stories of his Carriage and Conversation at home, and of Discourses he had with the Sophisters that came to his House. As for instance, how a Wrestler having one day, during the publick Sports, by chance killed with a Javelin a Horse belonging to *Epitimus* the *Pharsalian*, his Father spent a whole Day with *Protagoras* in a serious Dispute, whether the Javelin, or the Man that threw it, or the *Agonotheta*, that is Those who appointed these Sports, were, according to the strictest and best reason, to be accounted the cause of this Mischance or Horse-slaughter. Further, *Stesimbrotus* tells us, that it was *Xanthippus* himself, who spread among the People that infamous Story concerning his own Wife, that his Father



had made him a Cuckold : and that this untoward grudge of the young Man's against his Father, and unnatural breach betwixt them, which was never to be healed or made up, continued with him, till his very dying Day. *Xanthippus* died of the Plague, as did likewise *Pericles's* Sister, and the greatest part of his Kinsfolks and Friends, and Those who had been most useful and serviceable to him in managing the Affairs of State. However, he did not shrink or give out upon these occasions, nor lower his high Spirit, the greatness of his Mind still appearing under all the Misfortunes and Calamities which besel him. Nay, so unconcern'd and so great a Master of his Passions he was, at least seem'd to be, that he was never known to weep or to mourn, or pay the Funeral Rites to any of his dead Friends, nor was so much as seen at the Burial of any of his Relations, 'till at last he lost the only Son which was left of those who were lawfully begotten, his Son *Paralus*. This touch'd him home, and made him bow and relent; and yet he striv'd what he could to maintain his Principle of Gravity, and to preserve and keep up the Greatness of his Soul. But all would not do: for when he came to perform the Ceremony of putting a Garland or Chaplet of Flowers upon the Head of the Corps, he was vanquished by his Passion at the sight, so that he burst out a crying, and pour'd forth abundance of Tears, having never done any such thing in all the rest of his Life before.

After all, the City having made trial of other Generals for the Conduct of War, and Orators for the Business of State, when They found there was no one who was of weight enough to counterbalance such a Charge, or of Authority sufficient to be trusted with so great a Command; then they began to desire their old Friend and Servant *Pericles*, and solemnly inviting him to the Tribunal or *Prætorium*, intreated him to accept once more of the Office of General or Commander in chief. He was then in a very pensive Condition, and kept in at home, as a close Mourner; but was persuaded by

*Alcibiades*

*Alcibiades* and other of his Friends, to come abroad, and shew himself to the People: Who having upon his Appearance made their Acknowledgments, and apologized for their Ingratitude to him, he undertook the Publick Affairs once more, and being chosen General, he brought in a Bill that the Law concerning Bastard-*Issue*, which he himself had formerly caused to be made, might be repealed; that so his Name and Family might not, for want of a lawful Heir to succeed, be wholly lost and extinguished.

Now the business of that Law stood thus. *Pericles*, when long ago he flourished in the State, and had (as has been said) Children lawfully begotten, proposed a Law, That those only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were born of such Parents as were both *Athenians*. After this the King of *Egypt* having sent to the Commons, by way of Present, forty thousand Bushels of Wheat, which were to be distributed and shared out among the Citizens, there sprung up a great many Actions and Suits against Bastards, by virtue of that Edict, which 'till that time had not been known, nor taken notice of; and several Persons besides were trappan'd and insnar'd by false Accusations. There were little less than five thousand who were caught in this State-trap, and having lost the Freedom of the City were sold for Slaves; and those who enduring the Test remained in the Government, and past muster for right *Athenians*, were found upon the Poll to be fourteen thousand and forty Persons in number.

Now tho' it look'd somewhat odd and strange, that a Law, which had been carried on so far against so many People, should be broken and cancelled again by the same Man that made it; yet the present Calamity and Distress, which *Pericles* labour'd under as to his Family, broke through all Objections, and prevail'd with the *Athenians* to pity him, as one who by those Losses and Misfortunes had sufficiently been punish'd for his former Arrogance and Haughtiness. And therefore being of Opinion, that he had been severely handled

handed by Divine Vengeance, from which he had suffer'd so much, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant; they yielded that he should inrol his Bastard-Son in the Register of his own Ward by his paternal Name. This very Son of his afterward, when he had defeated the *Peloponnesians* in a Sea-fight near the Islands called *Arginusæ*, was condemn'd to die, as were the other Officers his Collegues in that Commission.

About that time, when his Son was inroll'd, it should seem, the Plague seiz'd *Pericles*, not with sharp and violent Fits, as it did others that had it, but with a dull and lingring Progress, through various Changes and Alterations, leisurely by little and little wasting the strength of his Body, and undermining the noble Faculties of his Soul. So that *Theophrastus* in his *Morals*, having made a moot-point, Whether Mens Manners change with their Fortunes, and their Souls being jogg'd and disturb'd by the Ailings of their Bodies do start aside from the rules of Virtue; hath left it upon Record, that *Pericles*, when he was sick, shew'd one of his Friends that came to visit him an Amulet or Charm, that the Women had hung about his Neck; as much as to say, that he was very sick indeed, when he would admit of or endure such a Foolery as that was.

When he was drawing near his End, the best of the Citizens, and those of his Friends who were left alive, sitting about him, were discoursing of his Virtue and Authority, how great it was, and were reckoning up his famous Actions and Achievements, and the number of his Victories; for there were no less than nine Trophies, which he as their chief Commander and Conqueror of their Enemies had set up for the Honour of the City and State. These things they talk'd of together among themselves, as though he did not understand or mind what they said, but had been utterly bereft of his Senses. But he had listned all the while, and given good heed to all the Passages of their Discourse; and speaking out to them said, that he wonder'd

der'd they should commend and take notice of those things in him, which were as much owing to Fortune as to any thing else, and had happen'd to many other Captains in former Times as well as to Him; and that at the same time they should omit to mention what tended much more to his Honour and Reputation. For, said he, there was never any of all my Fellow-Citizens that ever wore Black, or put on Mourning, upon my account; meaning that he had not in all his Government been the Cause of any one's Death, either by ordering or procuring it.

A brave Man, a wonderful great Personage, without all peradventure! not only upon the account of his gentle Behaviour and mild Temper, which all along in the many affairs of his Life, and those shrewd Animosities which lay upon him, he constantly kept up and maintain'd, but also of his generous great Spirit and high Sentiment, that he esteem'd That to be the best of all his good Qualities, that having been in such an absolute uncontrollable Power, as he had been, he never had gratified his Envy or his Passion in any thing to another Man's hurt, nor ever had treated any Enemy of his, as if he were incurable, that is, unreconcilable, and one who in time might not become a Friend. And to me it appears that this one thing of him did make that otherwise childish and arrogant Title they gave him, in nicknaming him *Olympius* (that is, the Heavenly or Godlike) to be without Envy, and truly becoming him; I mean his kind and courteous Carriage, and a pure and untainted behaviour in the height of Power and Place.

For this Reason we account, and esteem the Gods, who in their own Natures are the Source and Fountain of all that is Good, and cannot possibly be the Authors of Evil, to be very justly the Kings and Governors of the Universe, not as they are represented to us by the Poets, who on purpose to distract our Minds, and to instil false Notions into us by their chimerical Inventions, stuff their Writings with manifest Absurdities and Contradictions; for in their Description of the

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the Seat where they say the Gods make their abode, they call it indeed a secure and quiet Seat, free from all Hazards and Commotions, not troubled with Winds, nor darkned with Clouds; but at all times alike shining round about with a soft Serenity and a pure Light, inasmuch as such a temper'd Station is most agreeable and suitable for a blessed and immortal Nature to live in: and yet in the mean while they do affirm that the Gods themselves are full of Trouble, and Enmity, and Anger, and other Passions, which no way become or belong even to Men that have any understanding. But this will perhaps seem a Subject fitter for some other Consideration, and that ought to be treated of in some other place.

The Success of publick Affairs after *Pericles* his death did beget a quick and speedy sense of his Loss, and the desire of such a Conduct as his had been. For Those who, while he lived, ill resented his great Authority, as That which eclipsed Them and darkned their Lights, presently after his quitting the Stage making trial of other Orators and Demagogues, did readily acknowledge that there never had been in Nature such a Disposition as His was, either more moderate and reasonable in the height of that State he took upon him, or more grave and solemn in the Methods of that Mildness which he used. And that invidious pretended Arbitrary Power, about which they made such a noise, and formerly gave it the Name of Monarchy and Tyranny, did then appear to have been the chief Rampart and Bulwark of Safety, which the Government and Commonwealth had. So great a Corruption, and such abundance of wicked Ill-humours did get into publick Affairs after his Death, which He, by keeping them weak and low, did cover and disguise from being much taken notice of, and by curbing of them did hinder them from growing incurable through a licentious Impunity.







THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*FABIUS MAXIMUS.*



HAVING related the memorable Actions of *Pericles*, let us now proceed to the Life of *Fabius*. It is said, that *Hercules* falling in Love with a Nymph, or as Some say with a Woman of that Country near the Banks of the *Tiber*, had by her the first *Fabius*, from whom is descended the Family of the *Fabii*, one of the most numerous, and powerful in *Rome*. Others will have it, that they were first called *Fodians*, because when they went out a hunting their way was to catch their Game in Traps and Pit-falls; for to this Day the *Romans* call a Pit-fall *Fovea*; and that in process of time, and by corruption of Language, they grew to be called *Fabians*. But these things be they true or false, certain it is, that this Family hath for a long time yielded great store of eminent Persons; our *Fabius*, who was fourth in descent from that *Fabius Rullus*, or *Rutilianus*, who first brought the Honourable Sirname of *Maximus* into his Family, was also by way of Nick-name called *Verrucosus*, from a Wart on his upper Lip; and in his Childhood they in  
like

like manner named Him *Ovicula*, by reason of his extreme Mildness of nature. His slowness in Speaking, his long labour and pains in Learning, his little concern in the Sports and Divertisements of his Equals, his easy submission to every Body, as if he had no Will of his own, made those who judged superficially of him (the number of which sort of Judges is always the greatest) esteem him insensible and stupid; and few were They, who could penetrate into the firmness of his Courage and greatness of his Mind. But as soon as he came into Employments, his Virtues exerted and shewed themselves; what had passed for Stupidity and Insolence, did then appear to be a becoming Gravity; what for Fear or Cowardise, the Effect of a Consummate Prudence, which kept him from determining hastily; what for Slowness in seeing what was fit to be done, and Obstinacy in Opinion, for a Constancy and Firmness of Mind that was not to be shaken.

*Fabius*, considering that the Grandeur of *Rome* had its rise from Military Virtue, and was by the same Means to be preserved, did therefore inure his Body to Labour and Exercise, wisely judging that natural Strength was the best Armor: He also trained himself in the Art of speaking and persuading; for Words and Discourses are the Engines, by which Minds are moved. And he attained to such a kind of Eloquence, that his manner of speaking and of acting was perfectly the same: for tho' it had not much of Ornament, nor Artifice, yet there was in it great weight of Sense; it was strong and sententious, much after the way of *Tbucydides*. We have yet extant his Funeral Oration upon the Death of his Son, who died Consul, which he recited before the People.

He was five times Consul, and in his first Consulship had the Honour of a Triumph for the Victory he gained upon the *Ligurians*, whom he defeated in a set Battle, and forced them to take shelter in the *Alps*, from whence they never after made any Inroad, nor Depredations upon their Neighbours. After this *Hannibal* came into

*Italy*, who at his first Entrance having gained a great Battle near the River *Trebia*, travers'd all *Tuscany* with his victorious Army, and desolating the Country round about, fill'd *Rome* itself with Astonishment and Terror. Besides unusual Thunder and Lightning then hapning, the report of several ill-boding Portents did much increase this popular Consternation. For it was said, that some Targets did sweat Blood; that at *Antium*, when they reap'd their Corn, many of the Ears were filled with Blood; that it had rained Fire; that the *Phalerians* had seen the Heavens open, and several Scrolls in the form of Lots falling down, in one of which it was plainly writ, *Now Mars himself does brandish his Arms*. But these Prodigies had no effect upon the impetuous and fiery Temper of the Consul *Flaminius*, whose natural boldness and pride had been much heightned by his late Victory over the *Gauls*, though he fought them contrary to the Order of the Senate and the Advice of his Colleague; so that nothing would satisfy Him but a Battle with *Hannibal*. *Fabius* on the other side thought it not seasonable to engage with the Enemy; not that he much regarded those talk'd-of Prodigies, which he took to be either fictitious or casual; but in regard the *Carthaginian* Army was in a wasting condition, without a possibility of Recruits, without Magazines, the Soldiers unpaid; so that their only hope and safety was in a Battle: But if let alone, watch'd and observ'd, the neighbouring Garisons in the mean time being well secur'd, and the *Roman* Allies defended, their Vigour would soon expire, like a Flame for want of Aliment. These weighty Reasons prevail'd not with *Flaminius*, who protested, he would never suffer that the Enemy should advance one step further, and that he would not be reduced, like *Camillus* in former time, to fight for *Rome* within the Walls of *Rome*. Accordingly he ordered the Tribunes to draw out the Army into the Field; and as he would not be dissuaded by the Reasons of his Colleague from his precipitous Resolution, so neither was he deterr'd by an ill-presaging Accident which

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besel him at his setting forth ; for he no sooner got on Horseback, but the Beast fell into so violent a fit of trembling and bounding, that he cast his Rider headlong on the Ground. This notwithstanding, away he marcheth up to *Hannibal*, who was posted near the Lake *Trasimena* in *Tuscany*. And it is to be observed, that during the Engagement, there happen'd so great an Earthquake that it destroyed several Towns, altered the Course of Rivers, tore off the Tops of Mountains ; yet such was the Eagerness of the Combatants, that they were sensible of no other Concussion or Agitation, but what Themselves made.

In this Battle *Flaminius* fell, having given many proofs of his Strength and Courage, and round about him lay all the bravest of the Army : In the whole, Fifteen thousand were kill'd, and as many made Prisoners. *Hannibal*, desirous to bestow Funeral Honours upon the Body of *Flaminius*, made diligent search after it, but could never find what became of it. Tho' the Loss was so considerable, yet there was no Art used to dissemble it at *Rome* ; as there had been, upon the former Engagement near *Trebia* : for then, neither the General who writ, nor the Express who told the News, related it otherwise than as a drawn Battle, with equal Loss on either side : But now, as soon as *Pomponius* the Pretor had the Intelligence, he caused the People to assemble, and without disguising the Matter, told them plainly, *We are beaten (O Ye Romans!) our Army is defeated, the Consul Flaminius is killed ; think therefore what is to be done for your Safety.* The same Commotion which a furious Wind doth cause in the Ocean, did these Words of the Pretor raise in the Minds of so vast a Multitude : But the rage of their Grief being a little over, the Danger at hand did quickly unite them all in this one Resolution of choosing a Dictator, who by the Sovereign Authority of his Office, and by his Personal Capacity for Wisdom and Courage, might be able to manage the publick Affairs, which were become almost desperate, and to sit at the Helm in so great a Storm. Their Choice unani-

most fell upon *Fabius*, in whom was joined a venerable Gravity of Manners, with a Spirit not to be daunted with any Difficulty or Danger ; whose Age was so far advanced, as to give him Experience, without taking from him the vigour of Action : so that his Body could execute what his Soul designed ; and in Him was the happy mixture of Caution and Boldness. *Fabius* being thus installed in the Office of Dictator, in the first place

he gave the Command of the Horse  
(1) *Polybius* and to (1) *Lucius Minutius* ; and next he  
*Livy* call him *Marcus Minutius*. asked leave of the Senate for him-  
self, that in time of Battle he might

serve on Horseback, which by an ancient Law amongst the *Romans* was forbid to their Generals ; whether it were, that placing their greatest Strength in their Foot, they would have their Commanders in Chief posted amongst them ; or else let them know, that how great soever their Authority were, the People and Senate were still their Masters, of whom they must ask leave. But then again, to make the Authority of his Charge more awful, and to render the People more submissive and obedient to him, he caused himself to be accompanied with four and twenty *Lictors* ; and when the Consul came to visit him, he sent him word, that at his Audience he should dismiss his *Lictors* with their *Fasces* (the ensigns of Authority) and appear before him only as a private Person.

The first solemn Action of his Dictature was to order publick Prayers to be made to the Gods, and to admonish the People, that their late Overthrow did not befall them through want of Courage in their Soldiers, but through the Neglect of Divine Ceremonies in the General. He therefore exhorted them not to fear the Enemy, but by extraordinary Honours to appease the Gods. This he did, not to fill their Minds with Superstition, but only to raise their Courage and lessen in them the fear of the Enemy, by making them believe, that Heaven was on their side. In order hereunto the *Sibylline Books* were consulted, in which they conceived the



the Secrets of Destiny and future Events were to be learnt; and 'tis said there were found some Prophecies in them which perfectly agreed with some Events that fell out about that time; but whoever look'd into them, was under a tie of Secrecy not to reveal what they found. After This he assembled the People, and made a Vow before them to offer in Sacrifice the whole Product of the next Season all *Italy* over, of the Cows, Goats, Swine, Sheep, both in the Mountains and the Plains: and the more to solemnize this great Vow, he commanded the precise sum of 333000 Sesterces, and 333 Pence, and one third of a Penny, to be expended upon festival Games in Honour of the Gods: (which in our *Greek* Money amounts to eighty three thousand five hundred eighty three *Drachms* and two *Oboli*.) What his Mystery might be in that Number is not easy to determine, unless it were in regard of the Perfection of the Number *Three*, as being the first of odd Numbers, the first that contains in itself Multiplication, with all the other Properties belonging to any whatsoever Numbers besides.

In this manner *Fabius* having raised the hearts of the People, by making them believe that the Gods took their Part, and by the same means having made them supple and pliant to his Will, He, for his own part, placed his whole Confidence in himself, believing that the Gods bestowed Victory and good Fortune only upon the Valiant and the Prudent. Thus prepared, he set forth to oppose *Hannibal*, not with intention to fight him, but to wait upon him, to straiten his Quarters, to cut off his Provisions, and by so doing to make his victorious Army moulder away, and consume with Penury and Want. With this design he always encamped on the highest Grounds, where their Horse could have no Access. He carefully observed the Motions of *Hannibal's* Army; when they marched he followed them; when they encamped he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be compelled to an Engagement, and always keeping upon the Hills, free from the Insults of their Cavalry: by which means he gave them no Rest, but kept them in a continual Alarm.

But

But this his dilatory fencing way gave occasion both at *Rome*, and even in his own Camp, to suspect his want of Courage; and this Opinion prevailed also in *Hannibal's* Army, who was himself the only Man who was not deceived, and who clearly saw his own Ruin in his Enemy's Conduct. Wherefore he resolved with all the Arts and Subtilties of War to break his Measures, and so bring *Fabius* to an Engagement; like a cunning Wrestler, who watcheth every Opportunity to get good hold and close with his Adversary. Sometimes he draws up his Men to the very Intrenchments of the Enemy, reproaching the *Romans* with their Cowardise, so to exasperate and incense them against their General; then again he makes a Retreat to a good distance, that so he might draw them out to fall upon his Rear. At other times, in sight of the *Roman* Camp he wastes and burns the Countries round, to increase the Clamour of the People against *Fabius*. All this Artifice, though it had no effect upon the Firmness and Constancy of the Dictator, yet upon the common Soldiers, and even upon the General of the Horse himself, it had too great an one; For from this Conduct *Minutius* began to have a Contempt of the General, and his way of proceeding, which he misconstrued to be a timorous Lingerer; so that in his Harangues he humoured the Soldiery in their mad fondness of coming to a Battle, and in their Scorn and Reproaches which they cast upon *Fabius*; calling him the *Pedagogue of Hannibal*, since he did nothing else but follow him up and down, as if he had nothing to do but wait upon his Motions. At the same time they cried up *Minutius* for the only Captain worthy to command the *Romans*; whose Vanity and Presumption did thereupon swell to that degree, that he insolently rallied *Fabius's* Incampments upon the Mountains, saying, that he lodg'd his Men there, as on a Theatre, to behold the Flames and Desolation of their Country. And in his vain fit he would sometimes ask the very Friends and Domesticks of the General, whether it were not his meaning by so leading

leading them from Mountain to Mountain, to carry them at last (having no hopes on Earth) up into Heaven, and hide them in the Clouds from Hannibal's Army? When his Friends related these things to the Dictator, persuading him, that to avoid the general Obloquy, and the danger that might thereupon ensue, he would engage the Enemy: His Answer was, *I should be more faint-hearted than they make me, if through fear of idle Reproaches I should abandon my own Reason. It is no inglorious thing to have Fear for the safety of our Country. That Man is not fit to rule Others, who shall be startled and give Ground upon the noise of Rumours and Calumnies; for in so doing he subjects Himself and his Government to the Fancy of Those whom he ought to command.*

But an oversight of Hannibal, at this time committed, did happily allay these Distempers in the Roman Camp: For He, desirous to get at a greater distance from Fabius, and to refresh his Horse in some good Pasture-grounds, drew off his Army, and ordered his Guides to conduct him to *Casinum*. They mistaking him, by reason of his ill pronouncing the *Latin* Tongue, led Him and his Army to the Town of *Casilinum*, near *Campania*, which the River *Vulturnus* divides in two: The Country about it is a Valley circled round with Mountains, which enlargeth itself towards the Sea, near which that River overflowing, causeth a great deal of Marsh Ground; and at last discharging itself into the Sea, makes a very unsafe Coast, without any Harbour. As soon as Hannibal was entered into this Valley, Fabius dispatched four thousand choice Men to seize the Entrance into it, and stop him up; and lodged the rest of his Army upon the neighbouring Hills, in the most advantageous places; but at the same time he detached a commanded Party of his lightest-armed Men to fall upon Hannibal's Rear; which they did with such Success, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and put the whole Army in disorder. Hannibal, finding the Error and the Danger he was fallen into, immediately caused the poor Guides to be hang'd, which satisfied his Revenge, but did not lessen

lessen his Danger : for his Enemies were so advantageously posted, that there were no hopes of breaking through them, and his Soldiers began to despair of ever coming out of those Straits.

Thus reduced, *Hannibal* had recourse to this Stratagem ; he caused two thousand Head of Oxen, which he had in his Camp, to have Torches and dry Bavors well fastened to their Horns, and lighting them in the beginning of the Night, he ordered the Beasts to be fairly and softly drove on towards the Passages out of the Valley ; when this was done, he made his Army with great silence march after them. The Oxen at first kept a slow orderly Pace, and with their lighted Heads resembled an Army marching by Night, frightening only the Shepherds and Herdsmen of the adjacent Hills. But when the Fire had burnt down the Horns of the Beasts to the quick, they no longer observed their sober Pace, but un-ruled with their Pain, they ran dispersed about, tossing their Heads, and scattering the Fire round about them. This became a surprising spectacle to the *Romans*, especially to Those who guarded the Passages, who being at some distance from the main Body, and seeing the Fire on the sudden dispersing itself on every side, as if the Enemy had designed to surround them, in great Fright and Amazement quitted their Post, and precipitously retired to their Camp on the Hills. They were no sooner gone, but a light body of *Hannibal's* Men, according to his order, immediately seized the Passages, and soon after the whole Army, with all the Baggage, came up, and safely marched through the Passes. *Fabius*, before the Night was over, found out the Trick ; for some of the Beasts with their flaming Heads fell into the Hands of his Men ; but for fear of an Ambush in the Dark, he kept his Men all Night to their Arms in the Camp : And as soon as it was day, he charged the Enemy in the Rear, where Many fell ; and by reason of the Straits, and unevenness of the Passages, the Disorder had like to have been general over the whole *Punic* Army, but that *Hannibal* speedily detach'd from his

his Van a Body of *Spaniards*, who were light and nimble Fellows, and used too to climbing over Mountains; These briskly attacked the *Roman* Troops, who were in heavy Armour, and routing the foremost, gave such a Check to *Fabius*, that he was no longer in a Condition to follow the Enemy. This Action brought a strange obloquy and contempt upon the Dictator: They said, it was now manifest, that he was not only inferior to his Adversary (what they always thought) in Courage, but even in Conduct.

And *Hannibal* (maliciously) to improve their Hatred against him, marched with his Army close to the Lands and Possessions of *Fabius*; and then giving orders to his Soldiers to burn and destroy all the Country about, he forbade them upon pain of Death to do the least Damage in the Territories of the *Roman* General, and plac'd Guards for their security. These Matters reported at *Rome*, had that effect with the People which *Hannibal* desired. Their Tribunes raised a thousand Stories against him, chiefly at the Instigation of *Metellius*, who not so much out of hatred to Him, as out of friendship to *Minutius*, whose Kinsman he was, thought by depressing *Fabius* to raise his Friend. The Senate on their part was also offended with him, for the Bargain he had made with *Hannibal* about the exchange of Prisoners, of which the Conditions were, That after the exchange made of Man for Man, if any on either side remained, they should be redeemed at the price of two hundred and fifty Drachms a Head; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty *Romans* unexchanged. They not only refused to allow Money for the Ransoms, but also reproached *Fabius* for making a Contract so contrary to the Honour and Interest of the Commonwealth, in redeeming those Men at so dear a rate, who had cowardly suffered themselves to be taken by the Enemy. *Fabius* heard and endured all this with invincible Patience: but having no Money by him, and on the other side being resolved to keep his Word with *Hannibal*, he dispatched his

Son



Son to *Rome*, to sell Land, and to bring with him the price, sufficient to discharge the Ransoms; which was punctually performed by his Son, and accordingly the Prisoners were delivered to him; amongst whom many that were able, offered when they were released to repay the Money of their Ransom, but *Fabius* would not permit them to do it.

About this time *Fabius* was called to *Rome* by the Priests, to assist (according to the Duty of his Office) at some of their solemn Sacrifices; whereby he was forced to leave the Command of the Army with *Minutius*: but before he parted, he charged him, and intreated him, in his Absence, not to come to a Battle with *Hannibal*. His Commands, his Intreaties, and his Advice were lost upon *Minutius*; for his Back was no sooner turned, but the new General immediately sought all occasions to fight the Enemy. And notice being brought him, that *Hannibal* had sent out a great part of his Army to forage, he fell upon a considerable Party of them, doing great Execution, and driving them to their very Camp, with no little Terror to the rest, who apprehended their breaking in upon them: but in the mean time *Hannibal* had drawn his Men up into a Body, and *Minutius* without any loss made his retreat. This Success did much increase the boldness and presumption of *Minutius*, and fill'd the Soldiers Minds with a Contempt of the Enemy, and with a longing desire of a Battle. The News was suddenly spread about *Rome*, and then was *Fabius* heard to say those memorable Words, *That he dreaded nothing more, for the Safety of Rome, than the Success of Minutius*. But the People were mad with Joy, and *Metilius*, who was then their Tribune, made an Oration to them, in which he infinitely extolled the Valour of *Minutius*, and fell bitterly upon *Fabius*, accusing him not only for want of Courage, but even of Loyalty; and not only Him, but also many others of the most eminent and considerable Persons in *Rome*; *that by their means the Carthaginians had brought the War into Italy, designing thereby*

to oppress and destroy the Liberty of the People: for which  
 and they had put the supreme Authority into the hands of  
 a single Person, who by his slowness and delays might  
 give leisure to Hannibal to establish himself in Italy, and  
 Those of Carthage time and opportunity to supply him  
 with fresh Succours in order to a total Conquest. At this  
 Fabius step'd forth, but disdain'd to make any reply to  
 his Accusations; he only said, That they should expedite  
 the Sacrifices, that so he might speedily return to the Ar-  
 my, to punish Minutius, who had presumed to fight con-  
 trary to his Orders. He had no sooner pronounced these  
 words, but the People were immediately possess'd with  
 the belief, that Minutius stood in danger of his Life:  
 For it was in the power of the Dictator to imprison,  
 and to put to death; and they feared that Fabius, tho'  
 of a mild Temper to outward appearance, would be as  
 hard to be appeased when irritated, as he was slow to  
 be provoked. And yet no body dared to contradict the  
 Orders of the Dictator, but Metilius, whose Office of  
 Tribune gave him security and liberty to say what he  
 pleased; for in the time of a Dictature that Magistrate  
 only conserves his Authority. He therefore boldly ap-  
 ply'd himself to the People, in the behalf of Minutius,  
 that they should not suffer him to be made a Sacrifice  
 to the enmity of Fabius, nor permit him to be destroyed,  
 like the Son of Manlius Torquatus, who was beheaded  
 by his Father, for a Battle fought and won against Or-  
 der. Then he exhorted them to take away from Fa-  
 bius that absolute Power of a Dictator, and to put it  
 into more worthy Hands, which might better manage  
 it for their safety and publick good. These Impressions  
 very much prevail'd upon the People, tho' not so far,  
 as wholly to dispossess Fabius of the Dictature: But  
 they decreed, that Minutius should have an equal Au-  
 thority with the Dictator in the Army; which was a  
 thing then without Precedent, tho' not long after it  
 was also practis'd upon the overthrow at Cannæ, when  
 the Dictator, Marcus Junius, being with the Army,  
 they chose at Rome Fabius Buteo Dictator, that he might

create new Senators to supply the Places of Those who were killed, which could be performed by no other Magistrate. But there was this difference in the two Cases, that *Buteo* had no sooner filled the Vacant Places in the Senate than he dismissed his *Lictors* with their *Fasces*, and all his Attendants, and mingling himself like a common Person with the rest of the People, he quietly went about his own Affairs. The Enemies of *Fabius* thought they had sufficiently affronted and dejected Him, by raising *Minutius* to be his Equal in Authority; but they mistook the Temper of the Man, who took'd upon their Madnes as more injurious to the Commonwealth than to himself: In imitation of *Diogenes*, who being told, that some Persons derided him, made Answer, *But I am not derided*; meaning in a Philosophical sense, that a good and a wise Man was not capable of being affronted or disgraced, because such Injuries made no Impression upon him. Thus *Fabius*, with great lenity and unconcernedness, submitted to this mad Vote of the People; but lest the rashness of *Minutius* should be thereby enabled to run headlong upon some dangerous Enterprize, with all privacy and speed he returned back to the Army; where he found *Minutius* so big and elevated with his new Dignity, that a joint Authority not contenting him, he required by turns to have the Command of the Army, every other Day. This *Fabius* rejected, as of too dangerous Consequence, but was contented (to comply with his imperious Humour) that the Army should be divided, and each General should command his part. The first and fourth Legion he took for his own Division, the second and third he delivered to *Minutius*; so also of the Auxiliary Forces Each had an equal share.

*Minutius* thus exalted, could not contain himself from boasting, even in the presence of *Fabius*, that now he had humbled the mighty Man, who so lately trampled on their Lives and Fortunes. To whom the Dictator mildly reply'd, *Minutius*, you mistake the Enemy; 'tis Hannibal, and not *Fabius*, whom you are to combat; but if

*if you must needs contend with your Colleague, let it be in diligence and care for the preservation of Rome; that it may not be said, a Man so favoured by the People, serv'd them worse than He who had been ill treated and disgraced by them.*

Our young General despising these Admonitions, as the dotage of supercilious Age, immediately removed with the Body of his Army, and incamped by Himself. *Hannibal*, who was not ignorant of all these passages, lay watching his advantage from them: It happened, that between his Army, and that of *Minutius*, there was a certain Eminence which seemed a very advantageous Post to incamp upon; it had the prospect of a large Plain about it, and the Fields appeared to be all level and even; and yet there were a great many Ditches and Hollownesses in them, not discernable to the Eye at a distance. *Hannibal*, had he pleased, could easily have possessed himself of this Ground; but he reserved it for a Bait or Train, in a proper season, to draw the Romans to an Engagement. Now that *Minutius* and *Fabius* were divided, he thought the opportunity fair for his purpose; and therefore, having in the Night-time lodged a convenient Number of his Men in those Ditches and hollow places, early in the Morning he sent forth a small Detachment, who in the sight of *Minutius* possessed themselves of that rising Ground. According to his expectation, *Minutius* swallow'd the Bait, and first sends out a Party of light Horse, and after them some Horse, to dislodge the Enemy. And at last, when he saw *Hannibal* in Person advancing to the assistance of his Men, he marched with his whole Army drawn up, resolving to make himself Master of that Post. The Combat for some time was equal between the foremost Troops; but as soon as *Hannibal* perceived that the whole Army of the Romans was now sufficiently advanced within the Toils he had set for them, so that their Backs and Flanks were open to his Men whom he had posted in those low places; he instantly gave the Signal, whereupon They rushed forth,

and furiously attacked *Minutius* in the Rear. The Surprise and the Slaughter was so great, that it struck an universal Terror through the whole Army. The bravest amongst them, and *Minutius* himself, were in such Astonishment, that they were as incapable of giving Orders as the Soldiers of obeying them. Those who sought to save themselves by flight, were intercepted and cut in pieces by the *Numidian* Horsemen, who for that purpose had dispersed themselves about the adjacent Plains.

*Fabius* was not ignorant of this Danger of his Countrymen: He well foresaw what would happen from the Rashness of *Minutius*, and the Cunning of *Hannibal*; for which Reason he kept his Men to their Arms, in a readiness to wait the Event; nor would he trust to the Reports of Others, but He himself upon an Eminence in his Camp viewed all that passed. When therefore he saw the Army of *Minutius* encompassed by the Enemy, and that by their Countenance, and shifting their Ground, they were more disposed to flight than to resist; with a great Sigh, striking his Hand upon his Thigh, he said to those about him, *O Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, and yet how much later than He would have done, hath Minutius destroyed himself!* He then commanded the Ensigns to march, and the Army to follow him, telling them, *We must make haste to rescue Minutius, who is a valiant Man, and a Lover of his Country; and if he hath been too forward to engage the Enemy, at another time we will tell him of it.* Thus in the Head of his Men *Fabius* marched up to the Enemy; and in the first place he cleared the Plains of those *Numidians*; and next he fell upon Those who were charging the *Romans* in the Rear, running down all that made opposition, and obliging the rest to save themselves by a hasty Retreat, lest themselves should be environed as the *Romans* had been. *Hannibal* seeing so sudden a change of Affairs, and the great Execution done by *Fabius* beyond the force of his Age, opening his way through the Ranks that he might join *Minutius*, warily commanded



commanded a Retreat, and drew off his Men into their Camp : The Romans on their part were no less contented to retire in safety. It is reported that upon this occasion Hannibal said to his Friends ; *Did not I tell you that this Cloud which always hovered upon the Mountains, would at some time or other come down with a Storm upon us ?* Fabius, after his Men had pick'd up the Spoils of the Field, retired to his own Camp, without saying any harsh or reproachful thing to his Collegue ; who also on his part gathering his Army together, in this manner delivered himself to them : *Never to commit a Fault is above the force of human Nature ; but to learn and improve by the Faults we have committed, is that which becomes a good and a prudent Man. Some Reasons I may have to accuse Fortune, but I have many more to thank her : for in a few Hours she hath cured a long Mistake, and taught me, that I am not the Man who should command Others, but have need of another to command me ; and that we are not to contend for a Victory over Those to whom it is our Advantage to yield. Therefore for the future the Dictator must be your Commander ; but I will still be your Leader, by shewing you an Example of Gratitude, in being always the first to obey Orders.* Having said this, he commanded the Roman Eagles to march forward, and all his Men to follow him into the Camp of Fabius. The Fabians stood amazed at the novelty of the sight, and were anxious and doubtful what the meaning might be. When he came near the Dictator's Tent, Fabius went forth to meet him, and he presently laid his Colours at his Feet, calling him with a loud Voice his Father, and the Army commanded by him, the Patrons of his Liberty ; and after several Civilities and Congratulations, he thus addressed himself to the Dictator : *You have this Day (Fabius) obtain'd a double Victory ; One by your Valour and Conduct upon your Enemies, and Another by your Humanity and Compassion upon your Collegue : You have at once preserved us and instructed us ; and when we were shamefully beaten by Hannibal, you restored us to our Honour and our Safety ; and instead of Him, Fabius*

more honourably is now our Victor. I call you Father, but 'tis because I know no Title more honourable; for I am more obliged to you than my Father; to Him I am only obliged for my own Life, to You for my own and the Lives of all These here present. After this, he threw himself with great tenderness and submission into the Arms of the Dictator; and in the same manner the Soldiers of each Army embraced one another with an Excess of Gladness and Tears of Joy.

Not long after *Fabius* laid down the Dictature, and new Consuls were created. Those, who immediately succeeded, observed the same method in managing the War, and avoided all occasions of fighting *Hannibal* in a pitch'd battle; they only succoured their Allies, and preserved the Towns from falling off to the Enemy. But afterwards, when *Terentius Varro* (a Man of obscure Birth, but very popular and bold) had obtained the Consulship, he soon made it appear, that by his Rashness and Ignorance, he would expose the Commonwealth to the last hazard: for it was his Custom to declaim in all Assemblies, that as long as the Counsels of *Fabius* prevailed in *Rome*, there would never be an end of the War; and he made his brags, that whenever he should get sight of the Enemy, he would free *Italy* from the Arms of Strangers. With these Promises he so prevailed with the credulous Multitude, that he raised a greater Army than had ever yet been sent out of *Rome*. There were listed eighty-eight thousand fighting Men; but That which gave Confidence to the Populace, did at the same time very much terrify and deject the Wise and Experienced, and none more than *Fabius*: For if so great a Body, and the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, should be cut off, they could not see any resource for the safety of *Rome*, Wherefore they addressed themselves to the other Consul, *Paulus Æmilius*, a Man of great Experience in War, but not agreeable to the Common People, and One that stood in fear of them, because they had formerly set a Fine upon him. This other Consul they encourage to withstand the Temerity of his Colleague, telling him, if he will

will profitably serve his Country, he must no less oppose *Varro* than *Hannibal*, since Both conspired to decide the Fate of Rome by a Battle. It is more reasonable (said *Fabius* to him) that you should believe Me than *Varro*, in Matters relating to *Hannibal*, when I tell you, that if for this Year you abstain from fighting with him, either his Army will of itself moulder away and be destroyed, or else he will be glad to depart, and free Italy from those troublesome Guests. This evidently appears inasmuch as, notwithstanding his Victories, none of the Countries or Towns of Italy come in to him, and his Army is not the third part of what it was at first. To this *Paulus Æmilius* is said to have reply'd, Did I only consider myself, I should rather be exposed to the Weapons of *Hannibal*, than to the Suffrages of my fellow-Citizens, to whom I shall still render myself less agreeable, if I avoid engaging the Enemy; yet since the Life of Rome is at stake, I will rather in my Conduct be directed by *Fabius*, than by all the World besides. But these good Measures were broken by the ambitious importunity of *Varro*; for when they were both come to the Army, nothing would content this Favourite of the People but a separate Command, that each consul should have his Day; and when his Turn came, he posted his Army close to *Hannibal*, at a Village called *Cannæ*, by the River *Aufidus*. It was no sooner day, but he set up the red Flag over his Tent, which was the signal of Battle. This boldness of the Consul, and the numerousness of his Army (double to theirs) startled the *Carthaginians*; but *Hannibal* commanded them to their Arms, and with a small Train he went forth to take a full prospect of the Enemy, upon a rising ground not far distant. One of his Followers, called *Gisco* (a Nobleman of *Carthage*) told him that the Number of the Enemy was very astonishing; to whom *Hannibal* reply'd; with a serious Countenance: There is something yet more astonishing, which you take no notice of; that in all that Army there is not one Man whose Name is *Gisco*. This Jest of their General made all the Company laugh, and as they returned to the Camp, they told

told it to Those whom they met, which caused a general laughter among them all. The Army seeing *Hannibal's* Attendants come back from viewing the Enemy in such a laughing condition, did verily believe, that from the good posture of their Affairs, and from the contempt of the Enemy, this laughter had proceeded, which did not a little serve to raise the drooping Spirits of the Soldiers. According to his usual manner, *Hannibal* fail'd not by his Stratagems to advantage himself. In the first place, he so drew up his Men, that the Wind was on their backs, which was at that time very violent; and by reason of the great Plains of Sand, carried before it a great cloud of Dust, which striking upon the Faces of the *Romans*, did very much disable them in the fight. In the next place, all his best Men he put into his Wings; and in the Body, which was somewhat more advanced than the Wings, he placed the worst and the weakest of his Army. Then he commanded those in the Wings, that when the Enemy had made a thorow charge upon that middle advanced Body, which he knew would recoil, as not being able to stand their shock, and that, when the *Romans*, in their pursuit, should be far enough engaged within the two Wings, they should both on the right and the left charge them in the Flank, and endeavour to encompass them. This design had all the Success imaginable; for the *Romans* pressing upon *Hannibal's* Front, which gave ground, reduced the form of his Army into a perfect Half-Moon; and, blinded with the dust, they followed on so far, that they gave room for the Enemy's Wings to join behind them, and so to inclose and charge them both in Flank and Rear; which they did with an incredible Slaughter of the *Romans*: To whose Calamity, it is also said, that a casual mistake did very much contribute; for the Horse of *Æmilius* receiving a hurt, and throwing his Master, Those about him immediately alighted to aid the Consul: the *Roman* Troops seeing their Commanders thus quitting their Horses, took it for a sign that they should all dismount and charge the Enemy on Foot. At the sight of this

*Hannibal*

*Hannibal* was heard to say, *This pleaseth me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot.* For the Particulars of this Engagement, we refer our Reader to those Authors who have writ at large upon this Subject.

The Consul *Varro* with a thin Company fled to *Venutia*; and *Paulus Æmilius*, unable any longer to oppose the flight of his Men, or the pursuit of the Enemy, his Body all covered with Wounds, and his Soul no less wounded with Grief, sat himself down upon a Stone, expecting the kindness of a dispatching Blow. His Face was so disfigured, and all his Armour so stained with Blood, that his very Friends and Domesticks passing by, knew him not. At last *Cornelius Lentulus*, a young Man of a *Patrician* Race, perceiving who he was, alighted from his Horse, and tendering it to him, desired him to get up, and save a Life so necessary to the safety of the Commonwealth, which at this time would dearly want so great a Captain. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the Offer; with Tears in his Eyes he obliged young *Lentulus* to remount his Horse; then standing up, he gave him his Hand, and commanded him to tell *Fabius Maximus*, that *Paulus Æmilius* had followed his Directions to the very last, and had not in the least deviated from those Measures which were agreed upon between them; but that it was his hard Fate to be overpowered by *Varro* in the first place, and secondly, by *Hannibal*. Having dispatched *Lentulus* with this Commission, he mark'd where the Slaughter was greatest, and there threw himself upon the Swords of the Enemy. In this Battle it is reported, that fifty thousand *Romans* were slain, four thousand Prisoners taken in the Field, besides ten thousand that were taken Prisoners the day after the Battle, in the Camp of both Consuls.

The Friends of *Hannibal* earnestly persuaded him to follow his Victory, and pursue the flying *Romans* to the very Gates of *Rome*; assuring him, that in five days march he might sup in the Capitol: Nor is it easy to



to imagine, what hindred him from it. I am apt to believe, that the Excess of his good Fortune, or some Tutelary God of the *Romans*, blinded his Reason, and made him loiter away his time ; which made *Barcas*, a *Carthaginian*, tell him with Indignation ; *You know, Hannibal, how to get a Victory, but not how to use it.* Yet, tho' he failed in making the best advantage of so mighty a Victory, however it produced a strange turn and improvement in his Affairs : For He, who hitherto had not one Town, nor a Sea-port in his Possession, who had nothing for the subsistence of his Men, but what he pillaged from day to day ; who had no place of Retreat, nor any reasonable hopes to make the War continue, nor his Army to hold together, now became Master of the best Provinces and Towns of *Italy*, and of *Capua* itself (next to *Rome*, the most flourishing and opulent City) all which came over to him, and submitted to his Authority.

It is the Saying of *Euripides*, that, *'tis no small misfortune in private Life not to know who are fit to be made Friends, much more in the State, who are fit to be made its Generals.* And so it was with the *Romans*, who (before the Battle) branded the Counsels and Actions of *Fabius* with the infamous note of Cowardise and Fear ; but now in the other extreme, they admire and adore his Prudence, as something Divine, that could see so far, and foretell what would happen, so contrary to and so much above the Judgment of all Others. In Him therefore they place their only hope ; his Wisdom is the sacred Anchor which fix'd them in so great a Fluctuation, and his Counsels alone preserve them from dispersing, and deserting their City ; as in the time when the *Gauls* took possession of *Rome*. He, whom they esteemed fearful and pusillanimous, when they were (as they thought) in a prosperous Condition, is now the only Man, in this general Dejection, who shews no fear, but walking the Streets with an assured and serene Countenance, comforts the afflicted, invigorates the Weak, and encourageth All to a brave and resolute Defence of their

their Country. He caused the Senate to meet, he heartned the Magistrates, and was as the Soul of their Body, giving them Life and Motion ; He placed Guards at the Gates of the City, to stop the frightened Rabble from flying ; He regulated and confined their Mournings for their slain Friends, both as to time and place ; That each Family at their private Houses, and not in Publick, should perform such Obsequies ; and that the Ceremony of them should continue only the space of one Month, and then the whole City should be lustrated and purified. The Feast of *Ceres* happening to fall within this time, it was thought best that the Solemnity should be intermitted ; lest the Fewness and the sorrowful Countenance of Those who should celebrate it, might too much expose to the People the greatness of their loss ; and also because the Worship most acceptable to the Gods, is that which comes from chearful Hearts ; but as to those Rites which were thought proper and peculiar for appeasing their Anger, and procuring auspicious Signs and Presages, they were by the direction of the Augurs carefully performed. Also *Fabius Pictor* (a near Kinsman to *Maximus*) was sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi* ; and about the same time, two Vestal Virgins having been convicted of a criminal Conversation with the other Sex, the One killed herself, and the Other according to custom was buried alive.

But now let us admire the Moderation and Generosity of this *Roman Commonwealth* ; that when the Consul *Varro* came beaten and flying home, full of Infamy and Shame, after he had so foully and calamitously managed their Affairs, yet the whole Senate and People went out to meet him at the Gates of the City, and received him with all the Honour and Respect due to his Dignity. And Silence being commanded, the Magistrates and chief of the Senate, and principally *Fabius*, commended him before the People, for that he did not despair of the safety of the Commonwealth after so great a Loss, but was come to take the Government into his hands, to execute the Laws, and comfort his Fellow Citizens, as if he did

not

not yet judge their Affairs to be desperate. When word was brought to *Rome*, that *Hannibal* after the fight had marched with his Army into the remoter Parts of *Italy*, the Hearts of the *Romans* began to recover their ancient Vigour and Resolution: they sent forth an Army under the Command of *Fabius Maximus* and *Claudius Marcellus*; Both great Generals, equal in Fame, but very unlike and opposite in their ways. For *Marcellus*, as we have formerly set forth in his Life, was a Man of Action, bold, vigorous and enterprising, and (as *Homer* describes his Warriors) *ferce and delighting in Fights*. So that having to do with *Hannibal*, a Man of his own Temper they never failed upon all occasions to come to an Engagement. But *Fabius* adher'd to his former Principles, still persuaded, that by following close and not fighting him, *Hannibal* and his Army would at last be tired out and consumed; like an able Wrestler, who with too much Exercise and Toil grows languid and weak. Wherefore *Possidonius* tells us, that the *Romans* called *Marcellus* their *Sword*, and *Fabius* their *Buckler*; and that the Vigour of the One mix'd with the Steadiness of the Other, made a happy Compound, very salutiferous to *Rome*. So that *Hannibal* found by Experience, that encountering the One, he met with a rapid impetuous River, which drove him back, and still made some Breach upon him; and by the Other, tho' silently passing by him, he was insensibly wash'd away and consumed. At last he was brought to This, that he dreaded *Marcellus* when he was in motion, and *Fabius* when he sat still. During the whole course of this War, he had still to do with One or Both of these Generals; for each of them had been five times Consul; and either as Pretor, or Proconsul, or Consul, they had always a part in the Government of the Army; till at last *Marcellus* fell into the Trap which *Hannibal* had laid for him, and was killed in his fifth Consulship. But his Craft and Subtilty was unsuccessful upon *Fabius*; who only once was in some danger of being caught; for he had sent counterfeit Letters to him from the principal Inhabitants

of

of *Metapont*, wherein they engaged to deliver up their Town, if he would come before it with his Army: This Train had almost drawn him in, for he had resolved to march to them with part of his Army, but was diverted only by consulting the Flight of the Birds, which he found to be inauspicious: And not long after he came to understand that those Letters had been forged by *Hannibal*, who for his Reception had laid an Ambush to entertain him. This perhaps we must rather attribute to the Favour of the Gods, than to the Prudence of *Fabius*.

But in preserving the Towns and his Allies from revolting, with fair and gentle usage, and in not using Rigour, or shewing a suspicion upon every light Suggestion, his Conduct was very singular. It is reported of him, that being informed of a certain *Marsian* (an eminent Man for his Courage and Quality) who had dealt underhand with some of the Soldiers to make them desert, *Fabius* was so far from using Severity against him, that he called for him, and told him, he was sensible of the wrong which had been done him, and that his Merit and good Service had been neglected, which he said was a great Fault in the Commanders, who reward more by Favour than by Desert: *Therefore, whenever you are aggrieved (said Fabius) I shall take it ill at your hands, if you apply yourself to any but to me.* When he had so spoken, he bestowed an excellent Horse and other good Gifts upon him; and from that time forwards, there was not a faithfuller and more trusty Man in the whole Army than this *Marsian*. With good reason our General did judge, that if Those who have the Government of Horses and Beasts, endeavour by gentle Usage to make them tractable and fit for Service, rather than by Cruelty and Beating; much more Those who have the command of Men, should bring them to Order and Discipline by the mildest and fairest Means; not treating them worse than Gardiners do their wild Plants, which by careful looking to and good usage, lose the savageness of their nature, and bear excellent Fruit.

At another time, some of his Officers informed him, that one of their Men did very often depart from his Colours, and lie out at Nights; he asked them what kind of Man he was: they all answer'd, that the whole Army had not a better Man; that he was a Native of *Lucania*; and so they fell relating several Actions which they had seen him perform. Immediately *Fabius* made a strict inquiry to find what it was that led him so often out of the Camp: and at last he discovered, that his frequent excursions were to visit a young Woman, with whom he was in Love. Hereupon he gave private Order to some of his Men, to find out the Woman, and secretly to convey her into his own Tent; and then sent for the *Lucanian*, and calling him aside, told him that he very well knew how often he had lain at Nights out of the Camp, which was a capital Transgression against Military Discipline and the *Roman* Laws; but he knew also how brave he was, and the good Services he had done, and therefore in consideration of them he was willing to forgive him his Fault; but to keep him in good Order, he was resolved to place one over him, to be his Keeper, who should be accountable for his good Behaviour. Having said this, he produced the Woman, and told the Soldier (terrified and amazed at the Adventure) *This is the Person who must answer for you; and by your future Behaviour we shall see whether your Night Rambles were upon the Account of Love, or upon any other worse Design.*

Another Passage there was, something of this nature, which also fell under the Management of *Fabius*, and proved highly advantageous to the *Roman* Affairs, whereby he gain'd *Tarentum*. There was a young *Tarentine* in the Army, that had a Sister in *Tarentum* (then in possession of the Enemy) who entirely loved her Brother, and wholly depended on him. He being informed, that a certain *Brutian*, whom *Hannibal* had made Governor of that Garrison, was deeply in Love with his Sister, conceived hopes that he might possibly turn it to account in behalf of the *Romans*. And having first communicated



municated his Design to *Fabius*, he left the Army as a Deserter (in shew) and went over to *Tarentum*. At his first coming, the *Brutian* abstained from visiting his Sister; for neither of them knew that the Brother had notice of their Amour: whereupon the young *Tarentine* took an occasion to tell his Sister, how he had heard, that a Man of Quality and great Authority had made his Addresses to her; therefore he desired her to tell him who it was; for (said he) *if he be a man that has Bravery and Reputation, it matters not what Country-man he is, since at this time the Sword mingles all Nations, and makes them equal; and an Alliance with such a Person, in this Reign of Mars, is both honourable and profitable.* Hereupon the Woman sends for her Gallant, and makes the Brother and Him great Friends: And whereas she henceforth shewed more Countenance to her Lover than formerly, by the same degrees that Her Kindness increased, did His Friendship also with the Brother advance. So that at last our *Tarentine* thought this *Brutian* Officer well enough prepared to receive the Offers he had to make him; and that it would be easy for a mercenary Man, who was in Love to accept (upon the terms proposed) of great Sums promised by *Fabius*, and of a Mistress whom he so passionately loved. In conclusion the Bargain was struck, and the Promise made of delivering the Town. This is the common Tradition, tho' Some relate this Story otherwise, and say that this Woman, by whom the *Brutian* was inveigled to betray the Town, was not a Native of *Tarentum*, but a *Brutian* born, and that she had been kept by *Fabius* as his Concubine; and being a Country-woman and an Acquaintance of the *Brutian* Governor, he privately sent her to him to corrupt him.

Whilst these matters were in agitation, to draw off *Hannibal* from scenting the Design, *Fabius* sends Orders to the Garrison in *Rbegium*, that they should waste and spoil the *Brutian* Country, and should also lay Siege to *Caulonia*, and storm the Place with all possible Vigour. These were a Body of eight thousand Men, the worst of

the *Roman* Army, who had most of them been Deserters, and had been branded by *Marcellus* with the ignominious Note of Cowardise ; so that the loss of Them would not be great, nor much lamented by the *Romans*. *Fabius* therefore threw out these Men as a Bait for *Hannibal*, to divert him from *Tarentum* ; who instantly bit at it, and led his Froces to *Caulonia* ; and in the mean time *Fabius* lay down before *Tarentum*. The sixth day of the Siege, his young *Tarentine* slips by Night out of the Town, and having well observed the Place where the *Brutian* Commander, according to Agreement, was to let in the *Romans*, he gives an account of the whole matter, as they had laid it, to *Fabius* ; who thought it not safe to rely wholly upon the Information given him, and the Bargain which was made, but went himself with great privacy to take a view of the Post and Avenue ; and then gave order for a general Assault to be made on the other side of the Town, both by Land and Sea. This being accordingly executed, when the *Tarentines* and most of the Garrison ran to defend the Town on that side where the Attack was made, *Fabius* with the Men reserved for that purpose scales the Walls at the place designed, and enters the Town without opposition.

Here we must confess, that *Fabius* gave up his good Sense to his Vanity ; for to make it appear to the World, that he had taken *Tarentum* by Force, and his own Prowess, and not by Treachery, he commanded his Men to do Execution upon all the *Brutians*, and not to spare a Man of them. This Action, instead of raising his Character, as he hoped, by removing the Suspicion of Treachery, did very much lessen it, by adding Cruelty and Perfidiousness to it. Many of the *Tarentines* were also killed, and thirty thousand of them were sold for Slaves. The Army had the Plunder of the Town, and there were brought into the Treasury three thousand Talents. Whilst they were thus ordering and distributing the Spoils, the Officer who took the Inventory asked what should be done with their Gods, meaning the Statues and Images in the Temples ; to whom *Fabius* answered, *Let us leave their*

*their angry Gods to the Tarentines.* And yet he caused the Statue of *Hercules* to be set up in the Capitol, next to his own in Brass, which stood there on Horseback. The severe and sanguinary proceeding on this occasion, as it reflects on the Memory of *Fabius*, so also it very much sets off in the Eyes of the World the Clemency and Humanity of *Marcellus*, as in his Life we have already shewn.

When *Hannibal* had the News brought him that *Tarentum* was besieged, he marched with great diligence to relieve it; and being come within five Miles, he was informed that the Town was taken; which made him say, *that Rome had also got a Hannibal, and by the same Art Tarentum was lost, by which he formerly got it.* And being in private with some of his Confidants, he plainly told them, that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impossible, with the Forces he then had to master *Italy*.

Upon this Success, *Fabius* had a Triumph decreed him at *Rome*, much more splendid than the former; for they looked upon him now as a Champion who had clearly worsted his Antagonist, and been too hard for him in his own Way, and at his own Weapon. And indeed the Army of *Hannibal* was at this time partly worn away with continual Action, and partly become soft and dissolute with great Opulency and Luxury. When the Senate had before them the Business of this Triumph, *Marcus Livius* (who was Governor of *Tarentum* when it was betrayed to *Hannibal*, and then retired into the Castle, which he kept till the Town was retaken) openly declared, that by his resistance, more than by any Action of *Fabius*, *Tarentum* had been recovered: to whom *Fabius*, laughing at his Envy and Ambition, reply'd: *You say very true, for if Marcus Livius had not lost Tarentum, Fabius Maximus had never recovered it.* The People of *Rome* thought no Honour too great for him; they gave his Son the Consulship of the next Year; who when he was entered upon his Office, there being some Business then on foot about Provisions for the War, his Father,

either by reason of Age and Infirmary, or perhaps out of Design to try his Son, came up to him on Horseback. Whereupon the young Consul presently bid one of his Lictors command his Father to alight, and tell him that if he had any Business with the Consul he should come on Foot. This infinitely pleased the old Man, and altho' the Standers-by seemed offended at the Imperiousness of the Son towards a Father, so venerable for his Age and his Authority, yet he instantly lighted from his Horse, and with open Arms and great Speed, came up and embraced his Son, telling him, *Now thou art my Son indeed, since thou dost understand thyself in the Authority thou hast received, and knowest whom thou art to command. This was the way by which we and our Forefathers have advanced the Dignity of the Commonwealth, in preferring That to our own Fathers and Children.*

And indeed it is reported, that the (1) great Grandfather of our *Fabius*, who was undoubtedly the greatest Man of Rome (1) *Fabius Rullus*. in his time, both in Reputation and Authority, who had been five times Consul, and had been honour'd with several Triumphs for as many Victories obtained by him, condescended to serve as Lieutenant under his own Son, when he went Consul into his Province against the *Samnites*: And when afterwards his Son had a Triumph bestowed upon him for his good Service, the old Man followed on Horseback his Triumphant Chariot, as one of his Attendants; and made it his Glory to be the greatest Man in Rome, and to have such a Son, and yet to be subject to the Law and the Magistrate.

But the Praises of our *Fabius* are not bounded here; his manly Courage in bearing his Losses, more eminently shewed the greatness of his Soul, than his prosperous Successes. For losing this Son of his in the flower of his Age, and in the height of his Promotion, with wonderful moderation he did the part of a Pious Father, and of an Hero, whom nothing could daunt. For as it was the custom amongst the *Romans*, upon the death of any illustrious Person, to have a Funeral Oration recited by some of the nearest Relations, He himself took upon him that

that Office, and delivered himself upon the Subject to the great satisfaction and applause both of the Senate and People.

After *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who was sent Proconsul into *Spain*, had driven the *Cartbaginians* (defeated by him in many Battles) out of that Province, and had reduced several Towns and Nations under the Obedience of *Rome*, he was received at his coming home with a general Joy and Acclamation of the People; who to shew their Gratitude and high Esteem of him, design'd him Consul for the Year ensuing. Knowing what high Expectation they had of him, he thought the design of only driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, not great enough to answer the Hopes and the Happiness they promised themselves from his Consulship. He therefore propos'd no less a Task to himself than to make *Cartbage* the Seat of the War; and so to oblige *Hannibal*, instead of invading the Countries of Others, to draw back and defend his Own. To this end he made use of all the Credit and Favour he had with the People; and assiduously courting them, left no popular Art untry'd that he might gain them to second his Design. *Fabius* on the other side oppos'd with all his might this Undertaking of *Scipio*; telling the People, that nothing but the temerity of a hot young Man could inspire them with such dangerous Counsels, which by drawing away their Forces to Parts so remote, might expose *Rome* itself to be the Conquest of *Hannibal*. His Authority and Persuasions prevail'd with the Senate to espouse his Sentiments; but the common People thought that he envied the Fame of *Scipio*, and that he was afraid lest this young Conqueror should have the Glory to drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, and to end the War, which had for so many Years continued, and been protracted under his Government.

To say the Truth, when *Fabius* first oppos'd this Project of *Scipio*, I believe he did it in consideration only of the Publick Safety, and of the Danger which the Commonwealth might incur by such a way of proceeding: But when he found *Scipio* every Day increasing in



in the Esteem of the People, Envy then and Ambition took hold of him, which made him so violent in his Opposition. For he apply'd himself to *Crassus*, the Colleague of *Scipio*, and perswaded him not to yield that Province to *Scipio*, but that (if his Inclinations were for that War) he should himself in Person lead the Army to *Carthage*. He also hindred the giving Money to *Scipio* for the War, who was forced to raise it upon his own Credit and Interest, and was supply'd by the Cities of *Hetruria*, which were wholly devoted to him. On the other side, *Crassus* would not stir against him, nor remove out of *Italy*, as being in his own Nature an Enemy to Strife and Contention, and also as having the Care of Religion, by his Office of High-Priest. Wherefore *Fabius* try'd other ways to break the Design; he declaimed both in the Senate and to the People that *Scipio* did not only himself fly from *Hannibal*, but did also endeavour to drain *Italy* of all their Forces, and to spirit away the Youth of the Country to a Foreign War, leaving behind them their Parents, Wives and Children, a defenceless Prey to the Enemy at their Doors. With this he so terrified the People, that at last they would only allow to *Scipio* for the War, the Legions which were in *Sicily*, and three hundred of those Men who had so bravely served him in *Spain*. In these Transactions hitherto *Fabius* only seemed to follow the Dictates of his own wary Temper.

But, after that *Scipio* was gone over into *Africa*, when News was brought to *Rome* of his wonderful Exploits and Victories, of which the Fame was confirmed by the Spoils he sent home; of a *Numidian* King taken Prisoner; of a vast Slaughter of their Men; of two Camps of the Enemy burnt and destroyed, and in them a great quantity of Arms and Horses; when hereupon the *Carthaginians* had been compelled to send their Envoys to *Hannibal* to call him home, and leave *Italy* to defend *Carthage*; when for so eminent and transcending Services, the whole People of *Rome*, with no less Gratitude than Acclamation, cry'd up and extolled the

Actions

Actions of *Scipio*; even then did *Fabius* contend that a Successor should be sent in his place, alledging for it only the old threadbare and pitiful reason of the Mutability of Fortune, as if she would be weary of long favouring the same Person. But this too manifestly laid open his envious and morose Humour, when nothing (not done by himself) could please him: Nay, when *Hannibal* had put his Army on Ship-board, and taken his leave of *Italy*, and when the People had therefore decreed a Thanksgiving-day, did *Fabius* still oppose and disturb the universal Joy of *Rome*, by spreading about his Fears and Apprehensions, and by telling them, that the Commonwealth was never more in Danger than now, and that *Hannibal* was a more dreadful Enemy under the Walls of *Carthage*, than ever he had been in *Italy*; that it would be fatal to *Rome* whenever *Scipio* should encounter his Victorious Army, still warm with the Blood of so many *Roman* Generals, Dictators and Consuls. Some of the People were startled with these Declamations, and were brought to believe, that the farther off *Hannibal* was, the nearer was their Danger. But *Scipio* afterwards fought *Hannibal* and defeated him, and sufficiently humbled the Pride of *Carthage*; whereby he raised again the drooping Spirits of the *Romans*, no more to be dejected; and firmly establish'd their Empire, which the Tempest of this *Punick* War had so long caused to fluctuate.

But *Fabius Maximus* liv'd not to see the prosperous End of this War, and the final Overthrow of *Hannibal*, nor to rejoice in the well-established Happiness and Security of the Commonwealth; for about the time that *Hannibal* left *Italy*, he fell sick and dy'd. We find in the History of *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* dy'd so poor that he was buried upon the publick Charge; for 'tis said nothing was found in his House but an Iron Spit. *Fabius* on the contrary, dy'd very rich, yet such was the Love of the People towards him, that every Man of them, by a general Tax, did contribute towards defraying his Funeral, thereby owning him their common Father; which made his Death no less honourable than his Life.

The



### The Comparison of Fabius with Pericles.

**Y**OU have here had the Lives of two Persons very Illustrious for their Civil and Military Endowments : Let us first compare them in their Warlike Capacity. *Pericles* presided in his Commonwealth, when it was in a most flourishing and opulent Condition, great in Power, and happy in Success ; so that he seemed to stand rather supported by, than supporting, the Fortune of his Country. But the Business of *Fabius*, who undertook the Government in the worst and most difficult times, was not to preserve and maintain the well-establish'd Felicity of a prosperous State, but to raise and uphold a sinking and ruinous Commonwealth. Besides, the Victories of *Cimon*, of *Myronides* and *Leocrates*, with those many famous Exploits of *Tolmides*, were made use of by *Pericles*, only to entertain the People at home, and to please their Fancy with Triumphs, Feasts, and Games of the *Circus* and Theater ; not to enlarge their Empire by prosecuting the War : Whereas *Fabius*, when He took upon him the Government, had the frightful Object before his Eyes, of *Roman* Armies destroyed, of their Generals and Consuls slain, of all the Countries round strewed with the dead Bodies, and the Rivers stained with the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens ; and yet with his mature and solid Counsels, with the firmness of his Resolution, he, as it were, put his Shoulders to the falling Commonwealth, and kept it up, notwithstanding the Breaches had been made in it. Perhaps it may be more easy to govern a City broken and tam'd with Calamities and Adversity, and compelled to obey by Danger and Necessity, than to rule a People pampered and resty with long Prosperity, as were the *Athenians* when *Pericles* held the Reins of Government. But then again, not to be  
daunted

daunted nor discomposed with the vast heap of Calamities under which the People of *Rome* did at that time groan, argues the Temper of *Fabius* to be invincible, and his Courage more than human.

We may set *Tarentum* retaken, against *Samos* won by *Pericles*; and with the Conquest of *Eubœa* we may put in balance the Towns of *Campania* regain'd by *Fabius*; tho' *Capua* itself was afterwards subdued by the Consuls *Furius* and *Appius*. I do not find that *Fabius* won any set Battle, but That against the *Ligurians*, for which he had his Triumph; whereas *Pericles* erected nine Trophies for as many Victories obtained by Land and by Sea. But no Action of *Pericles* can be compared to that memorable Rescue of *Minutius*, when *Fabius* redeemed both Him and his Army from utter Destruction; an Action, which comprehends the height of Valour, of Conduct, and Humanity. On the other side, it does not appear, that *Pericles* was ever so over-reach'd as *Fabius* was by *Hannibal* with his flaming Oxen; never was there so certain, and so great an Advantage lost over an Enemy: For in the Valley of *Casilinum*, *Hannibal* was shut up without any possibility of forcing his way out, and yet by Stratagem in the Night he frees himself out of those Straits; and when Day was come, worsted the Enemy, who had him before at his Mercy.

It is the part of a good General, not only to provide for, and judge well of the present, but also to have a clear foresight of things to come. In this *Pericles* excelled, for he admonished the *Athenians*, and told them beforehand, what Ruin their War would bring upon them, by grasping more than they were able to manage. But *Fabius* was not so good a Prophet, when he denounced to the *Romans*, that the undertaking of *Scipio* would be the Destruction of the Commonwealth. So that *Pericles* was a good Prophet of bad Success, and *Fabius* was a bad Prophet of Success that was good; and indeed, to lose an Advantage through diffidence, is no less blameable in a General, than to fall into danger for want of foresight: For both these faults, tho' of a contrary nature, spring from the same root, which is want of Judgment and Experience.

And

And for their Civil Policy; it is imputed to *Pericles*, that he was a lover of War, and that no terms of Peace, offered by the *Lacedæmonians*, would content him. It is true, that *Fabius* also was not for yielding any thing to the *Carthaginians*, but would rather hazard all, than lessen the Empire of *Rome*; yet this difference there was between them, that *Fabius* made War only to preserve and recover his Own, and *Pericles* to gain what belonged to Others. But then, the Mildness of *Fabius* towards his Collegue *Minutius* does, by way of Comparison, highly reproach and condemn *Pericles*, for his Eager Prosecution of *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, who held with the Nobility, and were true lovers of their Country, and yet by his Practices were forced to leave it. Indeed, the Authority of *Pericles* in *Athens* was much greater than That of *Fabius* in *Rome*; for which reason it was more easy for him to prevent miscarriages commonly arising from weakness and insufficiency of Officers, since he had got the sole nomination and management of them; only *Tolmides* broke loose upon him, and, contrary to his Orders, unadvisedly fought with the *Bæotians*, and was slain; whereas *Fabius*, for want of that general Power and Influence upon the Officers, had not the means to obviate their Miscarriages; but it had been happy for the *Romans* if his Authority had been greater; for so, we may presume, their Disasters had been fewer.

As to their Liberality and publick Spirit, *Pericles* was eminent in never taking any Gifts, and *Fabius* for giving his own Money to ransom his Soldiers; tho' the sum did not exceed six Taleñts. This right we must do *Pericles*, that no Man had ever greater Opportunities to enrich himself (as having had Presents offered him from so many Kings and Princes, and States of his Alliances) yet no Man was ever more free from Corruption. And for the beauty and magnificence of Temples and publick Edifices, with which he adorned his Country, it must be confess'd, that all the Ornaments and Structures of *Rome*, to the time of the *Cæsars*, had nothing to compare, either in greatness of Design, or of Expence, with the Lustre of Those which *Pericles* only erected at *Athens*.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*ALCIBIADES.*

**A**lcibiades, as it is supposed, was anciently descended from *Euryfaces*, the Son of *Ajax*, by his Father's side, and by his Mother's side from *Alcmeon*; for *Dinomache*, his Mother, was the Daughter of *Megacles*. His Father *Clinias*, having fitted out a Galley at his own Expence, gained great Honour in a Sea-fight near *Artimifium*, and was afterwards slain in the Battle of *Coronea*, fighting against the *Bæotians*; *Pericles*, and *Aripbron*, the Sons of *Xantippus*, being related to *Alcibiades*, were his Guardians. 'Tis said, and not untruly, that the Kindness and Friendship which *Socrates* shewed to him, did very much contribute to his Fame. Hence it is, that tho' we have not an Account from any Writer, who was the Mother of *Nicias* or *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus* or *Phormio*, of *Thrasylbulus* or *Theramenes*, notwithstanding they were all of them Illustrious Persons, and of the same Age; yet we know even the Nurse of *Alcibiades*, that her Country was *Lacedæmon*, and her Name, *Amyclas*; and that *Zopyrus* was his Schoolmaster; the One being recorded by *Anaxibenes*, and the Other by *Plato*.

It is not perhaps material to say any thing of the Beauty of *Alcibiades*, only that it lasted with him in all the Ages of his Life, in his Infancy, in his Youth, and in his Manhood; and thereby rendred him lovely and agreeable to every one. For it is not universal what *Euripides* saith, that,

*Of all Fair Things the Autumn is most Fair.*

But this happened to *Alcibiades*, amongst few Others, by reason of his happy Composition, and the natural Vigour of his Body. It is said, that his Lispering, when he spoke, became him well, and gave a Grace to his Pronunciation. *Aristophanes* takes notice that he lisped, in those Verses wherein he jeers *Theorus*, because *Alcibiades*, speaking of him, instead of *Κόραξ*, pronounced *Κόλαξ*, and so call'd him Flatterer unawares to himself. From whence the Poet takes occasion to observe,

*How very luckily he lisp'd the Truth.*

*Archippus* Also makes mention of it, thus reflecting upon the Son of *Alcibiades*.

*His Father he will imitate in all;  
Like one dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury,  
His long loose Robe he seems to draw with Pain,  
Carelessly leans his Head, and in his Talk  
Affects to lisp.*

His Manners were very different; nor is it strange that they varied according to the many and wonderful Vicissitudes of his Fortune.

He was naturally subject to great Passions, but the most prevailing of all was his Ambition, and Desire to be esteem'd the First: which appear'd by several memorable things spoken by him, whilst he was a Child. Once being hard press'd in Wrestling, and fearing to be thrown,

thrown, he got the Hand of the Person who strove with him, to his Mouth, and bit it with all his Force ; his Adversary loos'd his Hold presently, and said, *Thou bitest, Alcibiades, like a Woman* : No, replied he, *I bite like a Lion*. Another time as he played at Cockal in the Street, being then but a Boy, a loaded Cart came that way, when it was his turn to throw ; at first he requir'd the Driver to stay, because he was to cast in the way over which the Cart was to pass ; but the rude Fellow did not hearken to him, and driving on still, when the rest of the Boys divided and gave way, *Alcibiades* threw himself on his Face before the Cart, and stretching himself out, bid the Carter drive on, if he would : This so startled the Man, that he put back his Horses, while all that saw it were terrified, and crying out, ran to assist *Alcibiades*. When he began to study, he obeyed all his other Masters with great Respect, but refused to learn to play upon the Flute, as a sordid thing, and not becoming a Gentleman ; for he would say, *To play on the Lute or the Harp does not Disorder the Posture of a Man's Body, or the Air of his Face ; but One is hardly to be known by his most intimate Friends when he plays on the Flute. Besides, he who plays on the Harp, may discourse or sing at the same time ; but the use of the Flute does so contract the Mouth, that the Voice is intercepted, and all Speech taken away. Therefore, said he, let the Theban Youths pipe, because they know not how to discourse ; but we Athenians (as our Ancestors have told us) have Minerva for our Patroness, and Apollo for our Protector, One of which threw away the Flute, and the Other stripp'd off His Skin who play'd upon it*. Thus between Rallery and good Earnest, *Alcibiades* not only kept Himself, but Others, from learning upon that Instrument ; for it presently became the Talk of the young Gentlemen, that *Alcibiades*, with good Reason, despised the Art of playing on the Flute, and ridicul'd Those who studied it. Whereupon it quickly ceas'd to be reckon'd among the Liberal Arts, and became universally exploded.

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It is reported in the *Investive* which *Antiphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, That once when he was a Boy, he fled to the House of *Democrates*, one of his Lovers, and that *Aripbron* had determined to cause Proclamation to be made for him, had not *Pericles* diverted him from it, by saying, That if he were dead, the proclaiming of him could only cause it to be discover'd one Day sooner; and if he were safe, it would be a Reproach to him whilst he liv'd. *Antiphon* does also say, That in *Sy-burtius's* School, or Place of Exercises, he slew one of his own Servants with the Blow of a Staff. But it may be unreasonable to give Credit to all that is objected by an Enemy, who makes profession of his Design to defame him.

It was manifest, that the many Persons of Quality, who were continually waiting upon him, and making their Court to him, were surpris'd and captivated by his extraordinary Beauty only. But the Affection which *Socrates* express'd for *Alcibiades*, was a great Evidence of his Virtue and good Disposition, which *Socrates* perceiv'd to appear and shine through the Beauty of his Person; and fearing lest his Wealth and Quality, and the great Number both of Strangers and *Athenians*, who flatter'd and caress'd him, might at last corrupt him, he therefore resolv'd to interpose and take care to preserve so hopeful a Plant from perishing in the Flower, and before its Fruit came to Perfection. For never did Fortune surround and inclose a Man with so many of those things which we vulgarly call Goods, whereby to keep him from being touched or approached by the free and clear Reasonings of Philosophy, as she did *Alcibiades*; who from the beginning was softned by the Flatteries of Those who convers'd with him, and hindred from hearkning to Such as would advise or instruct him. Yet such was the Happiness of his Genius, that he discern'd *Socrates* from the rest, and admitted him, whilst he drove away the Wealthy and the Noble who made court to him; and in a little time they grew into a Familiarity. *Alcibiades* observing that his Discourses aimed not at any effeminate

effeminate Pleasures of Love, nor sought any thing wanton or dishonest, but laid open to him the Imperfections of his Mind, and repress'd his vain and foolish Arrogance ;

*Then like the Craven Cock he hung his Wings,*

Esteeming these Endeavours of *Socrates*, as Means which the Gods made use of, for the Instruction and Preservation of Youth. So that he began to think meanly of himself, and to admire *Socrates* ; to be pleased with his Kindness, and to stand in awe of his Virtue : and unawares to himself, there was form'd in his Mind an Idea of Love, or rather of that mutual Affection whereof *Plato* speaks. Inasmuch that all Men wondered at *Alcibiades*, when they saw *Socrates* and Him eat together, do their Exercises together, and lodge in the same Tent ; whilst he was reserv'd and rough to all Others who made their Addresses to him, and carried himself with great Insolence to Some of them. As in particular to *Anytus* the Son of *Antemion*, one who was very fond of him, and invited him to an Entertainment which he had prepared for some Strangers : *Alcibiades* refused the Invitation ; but having drank to Excess at his own House with some of his Companions, he went thither to play some Frolick ; and as he stood at the Door of the Room where the Guests were treated, and perceiv'd the Tables to be cover'd with Vessels of Gold and Silver, he commanded his Servants to take away the one half of them, and carry them to his own House ; and then disdainingly so much as to enter into the Room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The Company was extremely offended at the Action, and said, he behaved himself rudely and insolently towards *Anytus* : But *Anytus* made Answer, that he had used him kindly and with great Humanity, in that he left him Part, when he might have taken All. He behav'd himself after the same sort to all Others who courted him, except only one Stranger, who (as it is reported) having but a small

Estate, sold it all for about a hundred Staters, which he presented to *Alcibiades*, and besought him to accept it : *Alcibiades* smiling, and well-pleas'd at the thing, invited him to Supper, and after a very kind Entertainment, gave him his Gold again, withal requiring him not to fail to be present the next Day, when the publick Revenue was offered to Farm, and to out-bid all others. The Man would have excus'd himself, because the Farm was so great, and would be let for many Talents ; but *Alcibiades*, who had at that time a private Pique against the old Farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. The next Morning the Stranger coming to the Market-place, offer'd a Talent more than the old Rent : The Farmers were enraged at him, and consulting together, call'd upon him to name such as would be Sureties for him, concluding that he could find None. The poor Man being startled at the Proposal, began to sneek off ; but *Alcibiades*, standing at a distance, cried out to the Magistrates, *Set my Name down, he is a Friend of mine, and I will undertake for him.* When the old Farmers heard This, they perceiv'd that their whole Contrivance was defeated ; for their way was, with the Profits of the present Year to pay the Rent of the Year preceding ; so that not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the Difficulty, they began to intreat the Stranger, and offer'd him a Sum of Money. *Alcibiades* would not suffer him to accept of less than a Talent ; but when that was paid down, he commanded him to relinquish the Bargain, having by this Device reliev'd his Necessity.

Tho' *Socrates* had many and powerful Rivals, yet He still prevail'd most with *Alcibiades*, by reason of the Excellency of his natural Parts. His Discourses mastered him to that degree, as not only to draw Tears from his Eyes, but to Change his very Soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to Flatterers, when they propos'd to him Varieties of Pleasure, and would desert *Socrates* ; who then would pursue him, as if he had been a fugitive Slave. The truth is, *Alcibiades* despis'd all others,  
and

and did reverence and stand in Awe of Him alone. And therefore it was that *Cleanthes* said, He had given his Ears to *Socrates*, but to his Rivals other Parts of his Body, with which *Socrates* would not meddle. For *Alcibiades* was certainly very much addicted to Pleasures, and that which *Thucydides* says, concerning his Excesses in his course of Living, gives occasion to believe so. But Those who endeavour'd to corrupt *Alcibiades*, took advantage chiefly of his Vanity and Ambition, and thrust him on to undertake unseasonably great things, persuading him, that as soon as he began to concern himself in publick Affairs, he would not only obscure the rest of the Generals and Statesmen, but exceed the Authority and the Reputation which *Pericles* himself had gain'd in *Greece*. But in the same manner as Iron, which is softened by the Fire, grows hard with the Cold, and all its Parts are clos'd again; so as often as *Socrates* observed *Alcibiades* to be misled by Luxury or Pride, he reduced and corrected him by his Discourses, and made him humble and modest, by shewing him in how many things he was deficient, and how very far from Perfection in Virtue.

When he was past his Childhood, he went once to a Grammar-School, and ask'd the Master for one of *Homer's* Books; and he making Answer, that he had nothing of *Homer's*, *Alcibiades* gave him a Blow with his Fist, and went away. Another School-master telling him that he had *Homer* corrected by himself; How, said *Alcibiades*, and do you employ your Time in Teaching Children to read? You, who are able to amend *Homer*, may well undertake to instruct Men. Being once desirous to speak with *Pericles*, he went to his House, and was told there, that he was not at leisure, but busied in considering how to give up his Accounts to the *Atbenians*; *Alcibiades*, as he went away, said, It were better for him to consider how he might avoid giving up any Accounts at all.

Whilst he was very young, he was a Soldier in the Expedition against *Potidaea*, where *Socrates* lodg'd in the same

same Tent with him, and seconded him in all Encounters. Once there happen'd a sharp Skirmish, wherein they Both behav'd themselves with much Bravery; but *Alcibiades* receiving a Wound there, *Socrates* threw himself before him, to defend him, and most manifestly sav'd Him and his Arms from the Enemy, and therefore in all Justice might have challeng'd the Prize of Valour. But the Generals appearing in earnest to adjudge the Honour to *Alcibiades*, because of his Quality, *Socrates*, who desir'd to increase his Thirst after Glory, was the first who gave Evidence for him, and press'd them to crown Him, and to decree to Him the compleat Suit of Armour. Afterwards in the Battle of *Delium*, when the *Athenians* were routed, and *Socrates*, with a few others, was retreating on Foot, *Alcibiades*, who was on Horseback, observing it, would not pass on, but staid to shelter him from the Danger, and brought him safe off, tho' the Enemy press'd hard upon them, and cut off many of the Party. But this happened some time after.

He gave a Box on the Ear to *Hipponicus*, the Father of *Callias*, whose Birth and Wealth made him a Person of great Power and Esteem. And this he did unprovok'd by any Passion or Quarrel between them, but only because in a Frolick he had agreed with his Companions to do it. All Men were justly offended at this Insolence, when it was known through the City: But early the next Morning *Alcibiades* went to his House, and knock'd at the Door, and being admitted to him, stripp'd off his Garment, and presenting his naked Body, desir'd him to beat and chastise him as he pleas'd. Upon this *Hipponicus* forgot all his Resentment, and not only pardon'd him, but soon after gave him his Daughter *Hipparete* in Marriage. Some say, that it was not *Hipponicus*, but his Son *Callias*, who gave *Hipparete* to *Alcibiades*, together with a Portion of ten Talents; and that after, when she had a Child, *Alcibiades* forced him to give ten Talents more, upon Pretence that such was the Agreement if she brought him any Children. And yet



yet after, *Callias*, for fear of being Assassinated by him, in a full Assembly of the People, did declare, that if he should happen to die without Children, *Alcibiades* should inherit his House and all his Goods. *Hipparete* was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband; but at last growing impatient of the Injuries done to her Marriage-bed, by his continual entertaining of Courtezans, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retir'd to her Brother's House. *Alcibiades* seem'd not at all concern'd at it, and liv'd on still in the same Luxury; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by Proxy, the Instrument whereby she sought a Divorce; when, in Obedience to the Law, she presented herself before him to perform this, *Alcibiades* came in, and took her away by force, and carried her home through the Market-place, no one all this while daring to oppose him, nor to take her from him. And she continued with him 'till her Death, which happen'd not long after, when *Alcibiades* made his Voyage to *Ephesus*. Nor was this Violence to be thought so very enormous or unmanly; For the Law, in making Her who desires to be divorced appear in Publick, seems to design to give her Husband an Opportunity of discoursing with her, and of endeavouring to retain her. *Alcibiades* had a Dog which cost him seventy *Mina*, and was a very great one, and very handsom; his Tail, which was his principal Ornament, he caus'd to be cut off; and his Acquaintance chiding him for it, and telling him, that all *Athens* was sorry for the Dog, and cried out upon him for this Action; he laugh'd, and said, *It is then come to pass as I desired; for I would have the Athenians entertain themselves with the Discourse of This, lest they should be talking something worse of me.*

It is said, that the first time he came into the Assembly, was upon occasion of a Largess of Money, which he made to the People. This was not done by Design, but as he pass'd along he heard a Shout, and enquiring the Cause, and having learn'd that there was a Donative

tive made to the People, he went in amongst them, and gave Money also. The Multitude thereupon applauding him, and shouting, he was so transported at it, that he forgot a Quail which he had under his Robe, and the Bird being frighted with the noise, fled from him: Thereupon the People made louder Acclamations than before, and many of them rose up to pursue the Bird; but one *Antiachus*, a Pilot, caught it, and restor'd it to him, for which he was ever after very dear to *Alcibiades*.

He had great Advantages to introduce himself into the Management of Affairs: His noble Birth, his Riches, the personal Courage he had shewn in divers Battles, and the Multitude of his Friends and Dependents. But, above all the rest, he chose to make himself considerable to the People by his Eloquence: That he was a Master in the Art of Speaking, the Comick Poets bear him witness; and *Demosthenes*, the most Eloquent of Men, in his Oration against *Midias*, does allow, that *Alcibiades*, among other Perfections, was a most exact Orator. And if we give Credit to *Theophrastus*, who of all Philosophers was the most curious Enquirer, and the most faithful Relater, he says, that *Alcibiades* was very happy at inventing Things proper to be said upon the Occasion. Nor did he consider the Things only which ought to be said, but also what Words and what Expressions were to be us'd; and when Those did not readily occur, he would often pause in the middle of his Discourse for want of apt Words, and would be silent and stop till he could recollect himself, and had consider'd what to say.

His Expences in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the Number of his Chariots, were very magnificent: for never any one besides himself, either private Person or King, sent seven Chariots to the *Olympick* Games. He carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth Prize, as *Thucydides* says, or the third, as *Euripides* relates it; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind. *Euripides* celebrates his Success in this manner;

*Thee,*

*Thee, lovely Son of Clinias, will I sing,  
 Thy Triumphs down to future Ages bring.  
 Thou, Pride of Greece! which never saw 'till now  
 So many Crowns adorn one conqu'ring Brow.  
 With how much Ease the threefold Prize he gains,  
 And smiles to see from far his Rivals Pains;  
 Their Chariots lagging on the distant Plains:  
 His Temples thrice the willing Judges Crown,  
 And gen'ral Shouts do the just Sentence own.*

The Emulation Those who contended with him expressed in the Presents which they made to him, rendered his Success the more Illustrious. The *Ephesians* erected a Tent for him adorn'd magnificently: The *City of Chios* furnished him with Provender for his Horses, and with great Numbers of Beasts for Sacrifice. And the *Lesbians* sent him Wine and other Provisions, for the many great Entertainments which he made. Yet in the midst of all this, he escap'd not without Censure, occasioned either by the Malice of his Enemies, or by his own ill Carriage: For 'tis said, that one *Diomedes*, an *Atbenian*, a good Man and a Friend to *Alcibiades*, passionately desiring to obtain the Victory at the *Olympick Games*, and having heard much of a Chariot which belong'd to the State at *Argos*, where he had observ'd that *Alcibiades* had great Power and many Friends, he prevail'd with him to undertake to buy the Chariot. *Alcibiades* did indeed buy it, but then claim'd it for his Own, leaving *Diomedes* to rage at him, and to call upon the Gods and Men to bear witness of the Injustice. There was a Suit at Law commenc'd upon this occasion; and there is yet extant an Oration concerning a Chariot, written by *Isocrates* in Defence of *Alcibiades*, then a Youth. But there the Plaintiff in the Action is named *Tisias*, and not *Diomedes*.

As soon as he began to intermeddle in the Government, which was when he was very young, he quickly lessen'd the Credit of All who pretended to lead the People, except *Pisax* the Son of *Erasistratus*, and *Ni-*

*icias* the Son of *Niceratus*, who alone durst contend with him. *Nicias* was arriv'd at the Age which is proper for War, and was esteem'd an excellent General; but *Pheax* was but beginning to grow in Reputation, (as *Alcibiades* was.) He was descended of Noble Ancestors, but was inferior to *Alcibiades*, as in many other things, so principally in Eloquence. He could speak well, and had the Art of persuading in private Conversation, but could not maintain a Debate before the People; That being true which *Eupolis* said of him, That *he could prate well, but was not eloquent*. There is extant an Oration written against *Pheax* and *Alcibiades*, wherein, amongst other things, it is said, that *Alcibiades* made daily use at his Table of many Gold and Silver Vessels, which belong'd to the Commonwealth, as if they had been his Own.

There was one *Hyperbolus*, a Native of *Perisboide*, (of whom *Thucydides* makes mention as of a very ill Man) who furnish'd Matter to all the Writers of Comedy in that Age for their Satyrs. But he was unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of Glory, he was also insensible of Shame. There are Some who call This Boldness and Courage, whereas it is indeed Impudence and Madness. He was lik'd by no Body, yet the People made a frequent Use of him, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any Persons in Authority. At this time the People by his Persuasions were ready to proceed to pronounce the Sentence of ten Years Banishment, which they called *Ostracism*. This was a way they made use of to lessen and drive out of the City such Citizens, as exceeded the rest in Credit and Power, therein consulting their Envy rather than their Fear. And when at this time there was no doubt but that the *Ostracism* would fall upon One of those three, *Alcibiades* contriv'd to unite their several Factions; and communicating his Project with *Nicias*, he turn'd the Sentence upon *Hyperbolus* himself. Others say, that it was not with *Nicias* but *Pheax* that he consulted, and that by the help

help of His Party, he procured the Banishment of *Hyperbolus* Himself, when he suspected nothing less. For never any mean or obscure Person fell under that Punishment before that time. Which gave occasion to *Plato* the Comick Poet, speaking of this *Hyperbolus*, to say that he was

*Worthy to suffer what he did, and more,  
But not in such an honourable way:  
The abject Wretch the Sentence did disgrace.*

But we have in another place given a fuller Account of All that History has delivered down to us of this matter.

*Alcibiades* was not less disturbed at the Reputation which *Nicias* had gain'd amongst the Enemies of *Athens*, than at the Honours which the *Athenians* themselves paid to him. For tho' *Alcibiades* was the Person who did publicly receive the *Lacedæmonians* when they came to *Athens*, and took particular Care of such of them as were made Prisoners at the Fort of *Pylos*, yet after They had obtained the Peace and Restitution of the Captives by the Procurement of *Nicias*, they began to respect Him above all Others. And it was commonly said in *Greece*, That the War was begun by *Pericles*, and that *Nicias* made an end of it; and therefore, as being his Work, this Peace was by most Men called the *Nician Peace*. *Alcibiades* was extremely troubled at This; and being full of Envy, set himself to break the League. First therefore observing that the *Argives*, as well out of Fear as Hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, sought for Protection against them, he gave them a secret Assurance of a League offensive and defensive with *Athens*. And transacting as well in Person as by Letters, with Those who had most Authority amongst the People, he encouraged them neither to fear the *Lacedæmonians*, nor submit to them, but to betake themselves to the *Athenians*, who in a little while, would repent of the Peace, and soon put an end to it. And



afterwards, when the *Lacedæmonians* had made a League with the *Bæotians*, and had not delivered up *Panaetum* entire, as they ought to have done by the Treaty, but defac'd and slighted it, which gave great Offence to the People of *Athens*, *Alcibiades* laid hold of that Opportunity to exasperate them more highly. He exclaim'd fiercely against *Nicias*, and accus'd him of many things, which seem'd probable enough: As that when he was General, he would not seize upon those Men who were deserted by the Enemy's Army, and left in the Isle of *Spbacteria*; and that when they were afterwards made Prisoners by Others, he procur'd them to be released, and sent back to the *Lacedæmonians*, only to get favour with Them; and yet that he would not make use of his Credit with them, to prevent their entring into a Confederacy with the *Bæotians*, and *Corinthians*: and that he sought to hinder those *Grecians* who were so inclined from making an Alliance and Friendship with *Athens*, if the *Lacedæmonians* were not pleas'd with it.

It happened at the very time when *Nicias* was by these Arts brought into Disgrace with the People, that Ambassadors arriv'd from *Lacedæmon*, who at their first coming, said what seem'd very satisfactory, declaring that they had full Power to concert all Matters in difference upon equal Terms. The Council received their Propositions, and the People was to assemble on the morrow to give them Audience. *Alcibiades* grew very apprehensive of This, and order'd matters so, that he had a secret Conference with the Ambassadors. When they were met, he said, *What is it you intend, you Men of Sparta? Can you be ignorant, that the Council always carry themselves with Moderation and Respect towards Ambassadors, but that the People are baughty, and affect great Things: So that if you let them know what full Powers your Commission gives you, they will urge and press you to yield to unreasonable Conditions. Quit therefore this indiscreet Method, if you expect to obtain equal Terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your Inclination; and begin*

to treat with the People upon some reasonable Articles, not owning at the first that you are Plenipotentiaries, and I will be ready to assist you, as being very zealous to serve the Lacedæmonians. When he had said thus, he gave them his Oath for the Performance of what he promised; and by this way drew them from *Nicias* to rely entirely upon himself, and to admire Him as a Person extraordinary for Wisdom and Dexterity in Affairs. The next Day, when the People were assembled, and the Ambassadors introduced, *Alcibiades* with great Civility demanded of them with what Powers they were come? They made Answer, That they were not come as Plenipotentiaries.

Instantly upon that, *Alcibiades* with a loud Voice (as tho' he had received, and not done the Wrong) began to call them faithless and inconstant, and to shew that such Men could not possibly come with a Purpose to say or do any thing that was sincere. The Council was highly incens'd, the People were in a Rage; and *Nicias*, who knew nothing of the Deceit and the Imposture, was in the greatest Confusion imaginable, being equally surpris'd and asham'd at such a Change in the Men. So that without more ado, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors were utterly rejected, and *Alcibiades* was declar'd General, who presently drew the *Argives*, the *Elians*, and Those of *Mantineæ*, into a Confederacy with the *Athenians*.

No Man commended the Method by which *Alcibiades* effected all This, yet it was a great Reach in the Politicks, thus to divide and shake almost all *Peloponnesus*, and to bring together so many Men in Arms against the *Lacedæmonians* in one Day before *Mantineæ*; thereby removing the War and the Danger so far from the Frontier of the *Athenians*, that even Success would profit the Enemy but little, should they be Conquerors; whereas if they were defeated, *Sparta* itself was hardly safe.

After this Battle at *Mantineæ*, the Officers of the Army of the *Argives* attempted to destroy the Govern-

ment of the People in *Argos*, and make Themselves Masters of the City; and by the Assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* they abolished the Democracy. But the People took Arms again; and having gain'd some Advantage, *Alcibiades* came in to their Aid, and made their Victory compleat. Then he perswaded them to build long Walls, and by that means to join their City to the Sea, that so at all times they might more securely receive Succour from the *Athenians*. To this purpose he procur'd them many Masons and Hewers of Stone from *Athens*, and in all things made shew of the greatest Zeal for their Service, and thereby gain'd no less Honour and Power to Himself, than to the Commonwealth of *Athens*. He also perswaded the *Patrans* to join their City to the Sea, by lengthening their Walls; and when they were warn'd, That the *Athenians* would swallow them up at last, *Alcibiades* made answer, *That possibly it might be so, but it would be by little and little, and beginning at the Feet; whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin at the Head, and devour you all at once.* He did also advise the *Athenians* to make themselves strong at Land, and often put the young Men in mind of the Oath which they had made at *Agraulos*, and excited them to the effectual Performance of it; for there they were wont to swear, That they would repute Wheat and Barley, and Vines and Olives to be the Limits of *Attica*; by which they were taught to claim a Title to all Lands that were manured and fruitful.

But with all these Excellent Things which he said and did, with all this Wisdom and Eloquence, he intermingled exorbitant Luxury in his Eating and Drinking, and in his Loves, join'd with great Insolence and Effeminacy. He wore a long purple Robe, which dragg'd after him as he went thro' the Market-place. He caus'd the Planks of his Galley to be cut away, that so he might lie the softer, his Bed not being placed on the Boards, but hanging upon Girths. \* And his Shield, which was richly gilded, had not the usual En-  
signs

signs of the *Athenians*, but a *Cupid* holding a Thunder-bolt in his Hand, was painted upon it; which when Those of the best Quality in the City saw, they did not only detest it, and resent it highly, but were afraid of his dissolute Manners, and insolent Contempt of Laws, as things monstrous in themselves, and tending to a Change of the Government. *Aristophanes* has well express'd in what manner the People stood affected towards him.

*They hate him, yet they love to see him too,  
Still Popular amidst his wild Debauches.*

And in another place he doth more plainly discover the Jealousy which was conceiv'd of him :

*'Tis Folly to breed up an Infant Lion :  
But to provoke him after, downright Madness.*

The Truth is, his Liberalities, his publick Shows, and other Munificence to the People, (which were such as nothing could exceed) the Glory of his Ancestors, the Force of his Eloquence, the Loveliness of his Person, his Strength of Body join'd with his great Courage, and extraordinary Knowledge in Military Affairs, prevail'd upon the *Athenians* to endure patiently his Excesses, to indulge many things to him, and to give the softest Names to his Faults, attributing them only to his Youth and Good-nature. He kept *Agatharcus* the Painter a Prisoner, 'till he had painted his whole House, but then dismiss'd him with a Reward. He publickly struck *Taureas*, who exhibited certain Shows in Opposition to him, and contended with him for the Prize. He took to himself one of the Captive *Melian* Women, and had a Son by her, whom he took care to educate. This the *Athenians* styl'd great Humanity; and yet he was the principal Cause of the Slaughter of all the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Melos*, who were of Age to bear Arms, by speaking in favour of that cruel Decree.

When *Aristophan* the Painter had drawn *Nemea* the Courtezan, sitting and holding *Alcibiades* in her Arms, the Multitude seem'd pleas'd with the Piece, and throng'd to see it; but the graver sort were highly offended, and looked on these things as great Enormities, and favouring of a Tyranny. So that it was not said amiss by *Archestratus*, That Greece could not bear two *Alcibiades's*. Once when *Alcibiades* succeeded well in an Oration which he made, and the whole Assembly attended upon him to do him Honour, *Timon*, surnam'd the *Man-bater*, would not pass slightly by him, nor avoid him as he did Others, but purposely met him, and taking him by the Hand, said, *Go on boldly, my Son, mayst thou increase in Credit with the People; for thou wilt one day bring them Calamities enough*. Some that were present laugh'd at the Saying, and Some reproach'd *Timon*; but there were Others upon whom it made a deep Impression; So various was the Judgment which was made of him, by reason of the Inequality of his Manners.

The *Atthenians*, in the Life-time of *Pericles*, had cast a longing Eye upon *Sicily*, but did not attempt any thing in relation to it, till after his Death. For then, under pretence of aiding their Confederates, they sent Succours upon all Occasions to Those who were oppress'd by the *Syracusians*, and thereby made way for the sending over of a greater Force. But *Alcibiades* was the Person who inflam'd this Desire of theirs to the height, and prevail'd with them no longer to proceed secretly in their Design, and by little and little, but to set out a great Fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves masters of the Island. To this purpose he possess'd the People with great Hopes, whilst he himself had much greater; and the Conquest of *Sicily*, which was the utmost Bound of their Ambition, was but the beginning of those things which He thought of. *Nicias* endeavour'd to divert the People from this Expedition, by representing to them, that the taking of *Syracuse* would be a work of great Difficulty. But

*Alcibiades*



*Alcibiades* dream'd of nothing less than the Conquest of *Carthage* and *Libya*, and by the Accession of *These*, fancied himself already Master of *Italy* and of *Peloponnesus*; so that he seem'd to look upon *Sicily* as little more than a Magazine for the War. The young Men were soon rais'd with these Hopes, and hearkened gladly to those of riper Years, telling them strange things of this Expedition; so that you might see great Numbers sitting in Rings in the Places of Exercise, Some describing the Figure of the Island, and others the Situation of *Libya* and *Carthage*. But it is said, that *Socrates* the Philosopher, and *Meton* the Astrologer, never hoped for any Good to the Commonwealth from this War: The One (as 'tis probable) presaging what would ensue, by the Assistance of his *Dæmon*, who conversed with him familiarly; and the Other, either upon a rational Consideration of the Project, or by making use of the Art of Divination, was become fearful of the Success; and therefore dissembling Madness, he caught up a burning Torch, and seem'd as if he would have set his own House on fire: Others report that he did not take upon him to act the Madman, but that secretly in the Night he set his House on fire, and the next Morning besought the People, That for his Comfort after such a Calamity, they would spare his Son from the Expedition. By which Artifice he deceiv'd his Fellow-Citizens, and obtain'd of them what he desired.

Together with *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, much against his Will, was appointed General; for he endeavour'd to avoid the Command, as disliking his Colleague. But the *Athenians* thought the War would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send *Alcibiades* free from all restraint, but temper'd his Heat with the Caution of *Nicias*. This they chose the rather to do, because *Lamachus* the third General, tho' he was in his declining Years, yet in several Battles had appear'd no less hot and rash than *Alcibiades* himself. When they began to deliberate of the Number of Forces, and of the manner

manner of making the necessary Provisions, *Nicias* made another attempt to oppose the Design, and to prevent the War; but *Alcibiades* contradicted him, and carried his Point with the People. And one *Demoftrates*, an Orator, proposing to them, That they ought to give the Generals absolute Power, both as to the Greatness of the Preparations, and the Management of the War, it was presently decreed so. But just when all things were fitted for the Voyage, many unlucky Omens appear'd. At that very time the Feast of *Adonis* happened, in which the Women were used to expose in all Parts of the City, Images resembling dead Men carried out to their Burial, and to represent Funeral Solemnities by their Lamentations and mournful Songs. The maiming also of the Images of *Mercury*, most of which in one Night had their Faces broken, did terrify many Persons who were wont to despise things of that nature. It was given out, that this was done by the *Corinthians*, for the sake of the *Syracusans*, who were a Colony of theirs, in hopes that the *Athenians*, observing such Prodigies, might be induced to repent of the War. Yet this Report gain'd not any Credit with the People, neither did the Opinion of Those who would not believe there was any thing ominous in the matter, but that it was only an extravagant Action, committed by some wild young Men coming from a Debauch; but They were both enrag'd and terrified at the thing, looking upon it to proceed from a Conspiracy of Persons, who design'd some great Commotions in the State. And therefore as well the Council, as the Assembly of the People, which upon this Occasion was held frequently, in a few Days space examin'd diligently every thing that might administer ground for Suspicion. During this Examination, *Androcles*, one of the *Demagogues*, produc'd certain Slaves and Strangers before them, who accus'd *Alcibiades*, and some of his Friends, for defacing other Images, in the same manner, and for having prophanely acted the sacred Mysteries at a drunken Meeting; wherein one *Theodo-*

*Polition* the Herald, *Polition* the Torch-bearer, and *Alcibiades* the Chief Priest, and that the rest of his Companions were present, as Persons initiated in the holy Mysteries, and acting the Part of Priests. These were the matters contain'd in the Accusation, which *Theſſalus*, the Son of *Cimon*, exhibited against *Alcibiades*, for his impious Mockery of the Goddesses, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The People were highly exasperated and enraged against *Alcibiades* upon this Accusation, which being aggravated by *Androcles*, the most malicious of all his Enemies, at first disorder'd him exceedingly. But when he perceiv'd that all the Seamen design'd for *Sicily* were fond of him, and that at the same time the Forces of the *Argives* and the *Mantineans*, which consisted of a thousand Men at Arms, spar'd not to say openly, that they had undertaken this tedious maritime Expedition for the sake of *Alcibiades*, and that if he was ill us'd, they would all presently be gone, he recover'd his Courage, and became eager to make use of the present opportunity for justifying himself. At this his Enemies were again discouraged, as fearing lest the People should be more gentle towards him in their Sentence, by reason of the present Occasion which they had for his Service. Therefore, to obviate this Mischief, they contriv'd that some other Orators, who did not appear to be Enemies to *Alcibiades*, but really hated him no less than Those who avow'd themselves to be so, should stand up in the Assembly, and say, that it was a very absurd thing, that One who was created General of such an Army with absolute Power, after his Troops were compleated, and the Confederates were come, should lose the present Opportunity, whilst the People were choosing his Judges by Lots, and appointing Times for the hearing of the Cause: And that therefore he ought to set sail presently, (and may good Fortune attend him;) but when the War should be at an end, he might then in Person make his Defence according to the Laws.

But *Alcibiades* soon perceiv'd the Malice of this Delay, and appearing in the Assembly, represented to them, that

it was a very grievous thing to him, to be sent forth with the Command of so great an Army, when he lay under such Accusations and Calumnies, that he deserv'd to die, if he could not clear himself of the Crimes objected to him. But when he had purg'd himself, and appear'd to be innocent, he should then cheerfully apply himself to the War, as standing no longer in fear of false Accusers. But he could not prevail with the People, who commanded him to sail immediately. So he departed together with the other Generals, having with them near a hundred and forty Galleys, five thousand one hundred Men at Arms, and about One thousand three hundred Archers, Slingers, and light-arm'd Men, and all the other Provisions were answerable, and every way complete.

Arriving on the Coast of *Italy*, he landed at *Rhegium*, and there propos'd his Advice in what manner they should manage the War. Wherein he was oppos'd by *Nicias*; but *Lamachus* being of his Opinion, they sail'd for *Sicily* forthwith, and took *Catana*. That was all which was done while he was there; for he was soon after recall'd by the *Athenians*, to abide his Trial. At first, (as we before said) there were only some slight Suspicions offer'd against *Alcibiades*, and Accusations by certain Slaves and Strangers. But afterwards in his absence his Enemies attack'd him more fiercely, and confounded together the breaking the Images, with the Prophanation of the holy Mysteries, as though Both had been committed in pursuance of the same Conspiracy for changing the Government. Thereupon the People imprison'd All that were accus'd, without Distinction, and without hearing them, and repented themselves exceedingly, that having such pregnant Evidence, they had not immediately brought *Alcibiades* to his Trial, and given Judgment against him. And if any of his Friends or Acquaintance fell into the Peoples Hands, whilst they were in this Fury, they were sure to be us'd very severely. *Thucydides* hath omitted to name his Accusers; but Others mention *Diocles* and

*Teucer* :

*Teucer* : Amongst whom is *Phrynichus* the Comic Poet, who introduces one speaking thus :

*Hear, Hermes, thy deceiv'd Athenians call !  
Preserve thy Image from a second Fall ;  
Lest Diocles once again accuse,  
And sacred Justice by false Oaths abuse.*

To which he makes *Mercury* return this Answer.

*Safe from Affronts my Statues I will guard ;  
False Teucer shall not meet with new Reward,  
Nor shall his impious Lies obtain Regard.* }

The Truth is, his Accusers alledged nothing that was certain or solid against him. One of them being ask'd, How he knew the Men who defaced the Images ; when he said, He saw them by the Light of the Moon, was grossly mistaken ; for it was just New Moon when the Fact was committed. This made all Men of understanding cry out upon the Thing as a Contrivance ; but the People were as eager as ever to receive further Accusations ; nor was their first Heat at all abated, but they instantly seiz'd and imprison'd every one that was accus'd. Amongst Those who were detain'd in Prison in order to their Trials, there was *Andocides* the Orator, whom the Historian *Hellanicus* reports to be descended from *Ulysses*. He was always look'd upon to hate the Popular Government, and to affect an Oligarchy. The chiefest ground of causing him to be suspected for defacing the Images, was because the great *Mercury*, which was plac'd near his House, and was an ancient Monument of the Tribe of the *Ægeides*, was almost the only Statue, of all the remarkable ones, which remain'd entire. For this Cause it is now called the *Mercury* of *Andocides* ; all Men giving it that Name, tho' the Inscription is an Evidence that it belongs to another Tribe. It happen'd that *Andocides*, above all Others who were Prisoners upon the same account, did contract a particular Acquaintance and



and Friendship with one *Timæus*, a Person not equal to *Andocides* in Quality, but very extraordinary both for Parts and Boldness. He persuaded *Andocides* to accuse himself and some few others of this Crime, urging to him, that upon his Confession, he would be secure of his Pardon, by the Decree of the People, whereas the Event of Judgment is uncertain to all Men; but to great Persons, as He was, most terrible. So that it was better for him, if he regarded himself, to save his Life by a Falsity, than to suffer an infamous Death, as one really guilty of the same Crime. And if he had a regard to the Publick Good, it was commendable to sacrifice a few suspected Men, by that means to rescue many excellent Persons from the Fury of the People. The Argument us'd by *Timæus* so far prevail'd upon *Andocides*, as to make him accuse himself and some Others; and thereupon, according to the Decree of the People, he obtained his Pardon; and all the Persons which were nam'd by him, (except some few who sav'd themselves by Flight) suffer'd Death. To gain the greater Credit to his Information, he accus'd his own Servants amongst Others. But notwithstanding This, the Peoples Anger was not appeas'd; and being now no longer diverted by Those who had violated the Images, they were at leisure to pour out their whole Rage upon *Alcibiades*. And in Conclusion, they sent the Galley call'd the *Salaminia*, to recall him. But they gave it expressly in Command to Those that were sent, that they should use no Violence, nor seize upon his Person, but address themselves to him in the mildest Terms, requiring him to follow them to *Athens*, in order to abide his Trial, and purge himself before the People: For indeed they fear'd a Mutiny and a Sedition in the Army in an Enemy's Country, which they knew it would be easy for *Alcibiades* to effect, if he had a mind to it. For the Soldiers were dispirited upon his Departure, expecting for the future tedious Delays, and that the War would be drawn out into a lazy length by *Nicias*, when *Alcibiades*, who was the Spur to Action, was taken away. For, though *Lamachus* was a  
Soldier

Soldier and a Man of Courage, yet being poor, he wanted Authority and Respect in the Army. *Alcibiades*, just upon his Departure, prevented *Messina* from falling into the Hands of the *Athenians*. There were Some in that City, who were upon the point of delivering it up; but he knowing the Persons, discover'd them to some Friends of the *Syracusans*, and thereby defeated the whole Contrivance. When he arriv'd at *Tburia*, he went on Shore, and concealing himself there, escap'd Those who search'd after him. But to One who knew him, and ask'd him, *If he durst not trust his native Country?* he made answer, *Yes, I dare trust her for all other Things; but when the Matter concerns my Life, I will not trust my Mother, lest she should mistake, and unwarily throw in a black Bean instead of a white one.* When afterwards he was told, that the Assembly had pronounc'd Judgment of Death against him, all he said was, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive.*

The Information against him was conceived in this Form.

“*Theffalus*, the Son of *Cimon*, of the Town of *Lacides*, doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the Son of *Clinias*, of the Town of *Scambonides*, to have offended the Goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, by representing in derision the holy Mysteries, and shewing them to his Companions in his own House. Where being habited in such Robes as are us'd by the Chief Priest, when he shews the holy things, he named himself the Chief Priest, *Polition* the Torch-bearer, and *Theodorus*, of the Town of *Pbygia*, the Herald, and saluted the rest of his Company as Priests and Novices. All which was done with design to expose the Rites and Institutions of the *Eumolpides*, and the Priests and other Officers of the holy Mysteries of the Temple at *Eleusis*.” He was condemned as contumacious upon his not appearing, his Estate confiscated, and it was decreed, That all the Priests and Priestesses should solemnly curse him. But one of them, *Theano*, the Daughter of *Menon*, of the Town of *Agraulos*, is said to have op-

posed that part of the Decree, saying *That her holy Office obliged her to make Prayers, but not Execrations.*

*Alcibiades* lying under these heavy Decrees and Sentences, when first he fled from *Thuria*, pass'd over into *Peloponnesus*, and remain'd some time at *Argos*. But being there in fear of his Enemies, and seeing himself utterly rejected by his Native Country, he sent to *Sparta*, desiring Letters of safe conduct, and assuring them, that he would make them amends by his future Services for all the Mischief he had done them, while he was their Enemy. The *Spartans* giving him the Security he desir'd, he went thither chearfully, and was well receiv'd. At his first coming he brought it to pass, that laying aside all further Caution or Delay, they should aid the *Syracusans*, and he quicken'd and excited them so, that they forthwith dispatch'd *Gylippus* into *Sicily* at the Head of an Army, utterly to destroy the Forces which the *Athenians* had in *Sicily*. Another thing which he perswaded them to do, was to make War also upon the *Athenians* on the side of *Peloponnesus*. But the third thing, and the most important of all the rest, was to make them fortify *Decelea*, which above all other Things did straiten and consume the Commonwealth of *Athens*.

As *Alcibiades* gain'd Esteem by the Services which he render'd to the Publick, so he was no less respected for his manner of living in private, whereby he wholly captivated the People, and made them dote on him. For, he conform'd himself entirely to the *Laconic* way, so that Those who saw him shav'd close to the Skin, and bathe himself in cold Water, and feed upon a course Cake, and use their black Broth, would have doubted, or rather could not have believ'd, that he ever had a Cook in his House, or had ever seen a Perfumer, or had worn a Robe of *Milesian* Purple. For he had (as it was observed) this peculiar Talent and Artifice, whereby he gain'd upon all Men, that he could presently conform himself to, and take up their Fashions and Way of Living, more easily than a Chamælion can change himself into new Colours. For a Chamælion, they say, cannot imitate

one

one Colour, that is, white; but *Alcibiades*, whether he convers'd with debauch'd or virtuous Persons, was still capable of imitating and complying with them. At *Sparta*, he was diligent at his Exercises, frugal, and reserv'd. In *Ionia* he was luxurious, frolick, and lazy. In *Thracia* he was always drinking, or on Horseback. And when he transacted with *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia*'s Lieutenant, he exceeded the *Persians* themselves in Magnificence and Pomp. Not that his natural Disposition changed so easily, nor that his Manners were so very variable; but being sensible that if he pursu'd his own Inclination he might give Offence to Those with whom he had occasion to converse; he therefore transformed himself into such Shapes, and took up such Fashions, as he observ'd to be most agreeable to Them. So that to have seen him at *Lacedæmon*, if a Man judg'd by the outward Appearance, he would say of him,

*'Tis not Achilles' Son, but it is He,  
The very Man the wise Lycurgus taught,*

But if one look'd more nearly into his Manners, he would cry out, according to the Proverb,

*'Tis the old Woman still, still lewd as ever.*

For while King *Agis* was absent, and abroad with the Army, he corrupted his Wife *Timæa*, and got her with Child. Nor did she deny it, but when she was brought to Bed of a Son, call'd him in publick *Leotychides*; but when she was amongst her Confidants and her Attendants, she would whisper that his Name ought to be *Alcibiades*. To such a degree was she transported by her Passion for him. But He, on the other side, would say in sport, he had not done this thing out of Revenge or Lust, but that his Race might one Day come to reign over the *Lacedæmonians*.

There were Many who acquainted *Agis* with these Passages; but the Time itself gave the greatest Confirmation

tion to the Story. For *Agis* being frightened with an Earthquake, fled out of Bed from his Wife, and for ten Months after never lay with her; and therefore *Leotyobides* being born after those ten Months, he would not acknowledge him for his Son, which was the Reason that at last he was excluded from the Throne.

After the Defeat which the *Athenians* receiv'd in *Sicily*, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to *Sparta*, at once from *Cbios*, and *Lesbos*, and *Cyzicum*, to signify their purpose of deserting the Interests of the *Athenians*. The *Boeotians* interpos'd in favour of the *Lesbians*, and *Pharnabazus* of the *Cyzicians*; but the *Lacedaemonians*, at the persuasion of *Alcibiades*, chose to assist those of *Cbios* before all Others. He himself also went instantly to Sea, and procur'd almost all *Ionia* to revolt at once; and joining himself to the *Lacedaemonian* Generals, did great Mischief to the *Athenians*. But *Agis* was his Enemy, hating him for having dishonour'd his Wife, which he resented highly, and also not able to bear patiently the Glory he acquir'd; for most of the great Actions, which succeeded well, were universally ascrib'd to *Alcibiades*. Others also of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the *Spartans*, were ready to burst with Envy against *Alcibiades*, and labour'd it so, that at last they prevail'd with the Magistrates in the City to send Orders into *Ionia* that he should be kill'd. But *Alcibiades* had secret Intelligence of it, and was afraid; so that tho' he communicated all Affairs to the *Lacedaemonians*, yet he took care not to fall into their Hands. At last he retir'd to *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia's* Lieutenant, for his Security, and immediately became the first and most considerable Person about him. For this *Barbarian* not being himself sincere, but artificial and full of deceit, admir'd his Address and wonderful Subtily. And indeed his Carriage was so agreeable in their daily Conversations and Pleasures, that it could not but soften the worst Humour, and take with the roughest Disposition. Even Those who fear'd and envy'd him, could not but take delight and have a sort of Kindness for him, when they

saw



saw him, and were in his Company. So that *Tisaphernes*, who was otherwise fierce, and above all other *Persians* hated the *Greeks*, yet was so won by the Flatteries of *Alcibiades*, that he set himself even to exceed him in Civility; to that degree, that being the Owner of some Gardens which were extremely delightful, by reason that they were near Fountains and sweet Meadows; wherein there were Apartments and Houses of Pleasure, royally and exquisitely furnish'd, he caus'd them to be call'd *Alcibiades*, and afterwards every one gave them that Name. Thus *Alcibiades*, quitting the Interest of the *Spartans*, as Those whom he could no longer trust, because he stood in fear of *Agis*, endeavour'd to do them all ill Offices, and render them odious to *Tisaphernes*, who by his means was hindred from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the *Athenians*. For, his Advice was to furnish them but sparingly with Money, whereby he would wear them out, and consume them insensibly; and when they had wasted their Strength upon one another, they would Both become an easy Prey to his King. *Tisaphernes* did readily pursue his Counsel, and did so openly express the Value and Esteem which he had for him, that *Alcibiades* was consider'd highly by the *Grecians* of all Parties. The *Athenians* now, in the midst of their Misfortunes, repent'd them of their severe Sentence against him. And He, on the other side, began to be troubled for them, and to fear, lest if that Commonwealth were utterly destroy'd, he should fall into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, his mortal Enemies. At that time, the whole Strength of the *Athenians* was at *Samos*: And their Fleet which rode there was employ'd in reducing Such as had revolted, and in protecting the rest of their Territories; for as yet they were in a manner equal to their Enemies at Sea. But they stood in fear of *Tisaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty Gallies, which was said to be already under sail; and if Those came, there remained then no Hopes for the Commonwealth of *Aibens*. When *Alcibiades* understood This,

he sent secretly to the Chief of the *Athenians*, who were then at *Samos*, giving them Hopes that he would make *Tisaphernes* their Friend; not with any Design to gratify the People, whom he would never trust; but out of his Respect to the Nobility, if, like Men of Courage, they durst attempt to repress the Insolence of the People, and by taking upon them the Government, would endeavour to save the City from Ruin. All of them gave a ready Ear to the Proposal made by *Alcibiades*, except only *Pbrynicus*, one of the Generals, who was a Native of the Town of *Dirades*. He oppos'd him, suspecting, as the Truth was, that *Alcibiades* concern'd not himself, whether the Government were in the People or the Nobility, but only sought by any Means to make way for his Return into his native Country; and to that end inveigh'd against the People, thereby to gain the Nobility, and to insinuate himself into their good Opinion. But when *Pbrynicus* found his Counsel to be rejected, and that he was now become a declar'd Enemy of *Alcibiades*, he gave secret Intelligence of This to *Astyochus*, the Enemy's Admiral, cautioning him to beware of *Alcibiades*, and to look upon him as a Double-Dealer, and one that offer'd himself to both Sides; not understanding all this while, that One Traitor was making Discoveries to Another. For *Astyochus*, who was zealous to gain the Favour of *Tisaphernes*, observing the great Credit which *Alcibiades* had with him, reveal'd to *Alcibiades* all that *Pbrynicus* had said against him. *Alcibiades* presently dispatch'd away Some to *Samos*, to accuse *Pbrynicus* of the Treachery. Upon This, all the Commanders were enraged at *Pbrynicus*, and set themselves against him; and He seeing no other way to extricate himself from the present Danger, attempted to remedy one Evil by a greater. For he sent away to *Astyochus*, to reproach him for betraying him, and to make an Offer to him at the same time to deliver into his Hands both the Army and the Navy of the *Athenians*. But neither did this Treason of *Pbrynicus* bring any Damage to the *Athenians*, by reason that *Astyochus* repeated his Treachery, and re-

veal'd

yeal'd also this Proposal of *Pbrynicus* to *Alcibiades*. This was foreseen by *Pbrynicus*, who fearing a second Accusation from *Alcibiades*, to prevent him, advertis'd the *Athenians* before-hand, that the Enemy was ready to sail, in order to surprise them, and therefore advis'd them to fortify their Camp, and to be in a readiness to go aboard their Ships. While the *Athenians* were intent upon doing these Things, they receiv'd other Letters from *Alcibiades*, admonishing them to beware of *Pbrynicus*, as one who design'd to betray their Fleet to the Enemy; to which they then give no Credit at all, conceiving that *Alcibiades*, who knew perfectly the Counsels and Preparations of the Enemy, made use of that Knowledge, in order to impose upon them in this false Accusation of *Pbrynicus*. Yet afterwards, when *Pbrynicus* was stabb'd with a Dagger in the Market-place by *Hermion*, who was then upon the Watch, the *Athenians* entering into an Examination of the Cause, solemnly condemn'd *Pbrynicus* of Treason, and decreed Crowns to *Hermion* and his Associates. And now the Friends of *Alcibiades* carrying all before them at *Samos*, they dispatch'd *Pisander* to *Athens*, to endeavour a Change in the State, and to encourage the Nobility to take upon themselves the Government, and destroy the Republick; representing to them, that upon these Terms, *Alcibiades* would procure that *Tisapbernes* should become their Friend and Confederate.

This was the Colour and the Pretence made use of by Those, who desired to reduce the Government of *Athens* to an Oligarchy. But as soon as they prevail'd, and had got the Administration of Affairs into their Hands, they took upon themselves the Name of the Five thousand: whereas indeed they were but four hundred, and began to slight *Alcibiades* extremely, and to prosecute the War with less Vigour than formerly: Partly because they durst not yet trust the Citizens, who secretly detested this Change; and partly because they thought the *Lacedaemonians*, who did ever affect the Government of the Few, would now press them less vehemently.

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The People in the City were terrify'd into a Submission, Many of those who dar'd openly to oppose the Four hundred having been put to Death. But they who were at *Samos*, were enrag'd as soon as they heard this News, and resolv'd to set sail instantly for the *Piræum*. And sending for *Alcibiades*, they declar'd Him General, requiring him to lead them on to destroy these Tyrants. But in that juncture he did not act like one rais'd on a sudden by the Favour of the Multitude, nor would yield and comply in every thing, as being oblig'd entirely to gratify and submit to Those, who from a Fugitive and an Exile, had created him General of so great an Army, and given him the Command of such a Fleet: but, as became a great Captain, he oppos'd himself to the precipitate Resolutions which their Rage led them to, and by restraining them from so great an Error as they were about to commit, he manifestly sav'd the Commonwealth. For if they had return'd to *Athens*, all *Ionia* and the Isles of the *Hellepont* would have fallen into the Enemies Hands without Opposition, while the *Athenians*, engag'd in Civil Wars, destroyed one another within the Circuit of their own Walls. It was *Alcibiades* principally who prevented all this Mischief; for he did not only use Persuasions to the whole Army, and inform them of the Danger, but app'y'd himself to them One by One, intreating Some, and forcibly restraining Others. And herein he was much assisted by *Thrasylulus* of *Stira*, whohaving the loudest Voice of all the *Athenians*, went along with him, and cry'd out to Those who were ready to be gone. Another great Service which *Alcibiades* did for them, was, his undertaking that the *Plæntian* Fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* expected to be sent to them by the King of *Persia*, should either come in Aid of the *Athenians*, or otherwise should not come at all. He went on Board with all Expedition in order to perform This, and so manag'd the thing with *Tisaphernes*, that tho' those Ships were already come as far as *Aspendas*, yet they advanc'd no farther; so that the *Lacedæmonians* were disappointed of them. It was by both

sides agreed, that this Fleet was diverted by the Procurement of *Alcibiades*. But the *Lacedæmonians* openly accus'd him, that he had advis'd this *Barbarian* to stand still, and suffer the *Græcians* to waste and destroy one another. For it was evident that the Accession of so great a Force to either Party, would have enabled them to have ravish'd entirely the Dominion of the Sea from the other side. Soon after this the four hundred Usurpers were driven out, the Friends of *Alcibiades* vigorously assisting Those who were for the Popular Government. And now the People in the City not only desired, but commanded *Alcibiades* to return home from his Exile. However he disdain'd to owe his Return to the mere Grace and Commiseration of the People, and therefore resolv'd to come back with Glory, and upon the Merit of some Eminent Service. To this end he sail'd from *Samos* with a few Ships, and cruis'd on the Sea of *Cnidos*, and about the Isle of *Coos*, and got Intelligence there, that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* Admiral, was sail'd with his whole Army into the *Hellespont*, in pursuit of the *Atbenians*. Thereupon he made haste to succour the *Atbenian* Commanders, and by good fortune arriv'd with eighteen Gallies at a critical time. For both the Fleets having engaged near *Abydos*, the Fight between them had lasted from morning 'till night, the One side having the Advantage on the right Wing, and the Other on the Left. Upon his first Appearance, both sides conceiv'd a false Opinion of the end of his coming, for the Enemy was encouraged and the *Atbenians* terrified. But *Alcibiades* suddenly advanced the *Atbenian* Flag in the Admiral-Ship, and with great Fury fell upon the *Peloponnesians*, who had then the Advantage, and were in the pursuit. He soon put them to flight, and follow'd them so close, that he forced them on shore, broke their Ships in pieces, and slew the Men who endeavour'd to save themselves by swimming; altho' *Pharnabazus* was come down to their Assistance by Land, and did what he could to cover the Ships as they lay under the shore. In fine, the *Atbenians* having taken thirty of the

Enemies



Enemies Ships, and recover'd all their Own, erected a Trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a Victory, his Vanity made him affect to shew himself to *Tisaphernes*, and having furnish'd himself with Gifts and Presents, and an Equipage suitable to so great a General, he set forwards towards him. But the thing did not succeed as he had imagin'd; for *Tisaphernes* had been long suspected by the *Lacedæmonians*, and was afraid to fall into Disgrace with his King upon that account, and therefore thought that *Alcibiades* arriv'd very opportunely, and immediately caus'd him to be seiz'd, and sent away Prisoner to *Sardis*; fancying by this Act of Injustice, to purge himself from former Imputations. But about thirty days after *Alcibiades* escap'd from his Keepers, and having got a Horse, fled to *Clazomene*, where he accus'd *Tisaphernes*, as consenting to his Escape. From thence he sail'd to the *Athenian* Camp, and being inform'd there that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together at *Cyzicum*, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, shewing them that it was necessary to attack the Enemies both by Sea and Land, nay even to force them in their Fortifications; for unless they gain'd a complete Victory, they would soon be in want of necessary Provisions for their Subsistence. As soon as ever he got them on Ship-board, he hasten'd to *Proconessus*, and there gave Command to place all the smaller Vessels in the midst of the Navy, and to take all possible Care that the Enemy might have no Notice of his coming; and a great Storm of Rain, accompanied with Thunder and Darkness, which happen'd at the same time, contributed much to the concealing of his Design. So that it was not only undiscovered by the Enemy, but the *Athenians* themselves were ignorant of it; for he suddenly commanded them on board, and set sail before they were aware. As soon as the Darkness was over, he perceiv'd himself to be in Sight of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which rode at Anchor before the Port of *Cyzicum*. *Alcibiades*, fearing lest, if they discover'd the Number of his Ships, they might endeavour to save themselves by Land, com-

manded

manded the rest of the Captains to slacken their Sails, and follow after him slowly; whilst He advancing with forty Ships, shew'd himself to the Enemy, and provoked them to fight. The Enemy being deceived in their Number despis'd them, and supposing they were to contend with Those only, made themselves ready, and began the Fight. But as soon as they were engag'd, they perceived the other Part of the Fleet coming down upon them, at which they were so terrified, that they fled immediately. Upon that, *Alcibiades*, with twenty of his best Ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastned to the Shore, and suddenly making a Descent, pursu'd Those who abandon'd their Ships and fled to Land, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* coming to their Succour, were utterly defeated. *Mindarus* was slain upon the Place, fighting valiantly, but *Pharnabazus* sav'd himself by flight. The *Athenians* slew great Numbers of their Enemies, won much Spoil, and took all their Ships. They also made themselves Masters of *Cyzicum*, it being deserted by *Pharnabazus*, and put to death all the *Peloponnesians* that were there; and thereby not only secur'd to themselves the *Hellepont*, but by force drove the *Lacedæmonians* from out of all the other Seas. They intercepted also some Letters written to the *Euphori*, which gave an Account of this fatal Overthrow, after their short *Laconic* manner: *Our Hopes are at an end: Mindarus is slain: The Soldiers starve; and we know not what Measures to take.* The Soldiers who follow'd *Alcibiades* in this last Fight, were so exalted with the Success, and came to that degree of Pride, that looking on themselves as invincible, they disdain'd to mix with the other Soldiers, who had been often overcome. For it happened not long before, *Thrasylus* had received a great Defeat near *Ephesus*, and upon that Occasion the *Ephesians* erected a brazen Trophy to the Disgrace of the *Athenians*. The Soldiers of *Alcibiades* reproach'd Those who were under the Command of *Thrasylus*, with this Misfortune, at the same time magnifying Themselves and their own Commander;

Commander ; and it went so far at last, that they would not do their Exercises with them, nor lodge in the same Quarters. But soon after, *Pbarnabazus*, with a great Strength of Horse and Foot, falling upon the Soldiers of *Tbrasyllus*, as they were laying waste the Territory of the *Abidenians*, *Alcibiades* coming to their Aid, routed *Pbarnabazus*, and, together with *Tbrasyllus*, pursu'd him 'till it was Night. Then their Troops united, and returned together to the Camp, rejoicing and congratulating one another. The next Day he erected a Trophy, and then proceeded to lay waste with Fire and Sword the whole Province which was under *Pbarnabazus*, where none durst appear to oppose them. In this Action he took divers Priests and Priestesses, but releas'd them without Ransom. He prepar'd to make War next upon the *Chalcedonians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and had received a *Lacedæmonian* Governor and Garrison. But having Intelligence that they had remov'd their Corn and Cattle out of the Fields, and had sent All to the *Bitbynians*, who were their Friends, he drew down his Army to the Frontier of the *Bitbynians*, and then sent a Herald to accuse them of this Procedure. The *Bitbynians* being terrify'd at his Approach, delivered up to him the whole Booty, and enter'd into an Alliance with him. Afterwards he proceeded to the Siege of *Chalcedon*, and inclos'd it with a Wall from Sea to Sea. *Pbarnabazus* advanc'd with his Forces to raise the Siege, and *Hippocrates*, the Governor of the Town, at the same time gathering together all the Strength he had, made a Sally upon the *Athenians*. *Alcibiades* divided his Army so, as to engage them Both at once, and not only forc'd *Pbarnabazus* to a dishonourable Flight, but slew *Hippocrates*, and a great number of the Soldiers which were with him. After This he sail'd into the *Hellepont*, in order to raise Supplies of Money, and took the City of *Selybria* ; in which Action, through his precipitancy, he expos'd himself to great Danger. For Some within the Town had undertaken to betray it into his Hands, and by agreement were to give him a Signal by a lighted Torch

Torch about Midnight. But one of the Conspirators beginning to repent himself of the Design, the rest, for fear of being discovered, were driven to give the Signal before the appointed Hour. *Alcibiades*, as soon as he saw the Torch lifted up in the Air, tho' his Army was not in readiness to march, ran instantly towards the Wall, taking with him about thirty Men only, and commanding the rest of the Army to follow him with all possible Diligence. When he came thither, he found the Gate open'd for him, and enter'd with his thirty Men, and about twenty more of the Light-Arms who were by this time come up to them. They were no sooner fallen into the City, but he perceiv'd the *Selybrians* all arm'd coming down upon him; so that there was no Hope of escaping if he staid to receive them; and on the other side, having been always successful 'till that Day, where-ever he commanded, his Glory would not suffer him to fly. But on the sudden he thought of this Device: He requir'd Silence by sound of a Trumpet, and then commanded one of his Men to make Proclamation, that the *Selybrians* should not take Arms against the *Atbenians*. This cooled such of the Inhabitants as were fiercest for the Fight, for they suppos'd that all their Enemies were got within the Walls, and it rais'd the Hopes of Others who were dispos'd to an Accommodation. Whilst they were parlying, and Propositions were making on one side and on the other, *Alcibiades's* whole Army came up to the Town. But then conjecturing rightly that the *Selybrians* were well inclin'd to Peace, and fearing lest the City might be sack'd by the *Thracians*, (who came in great Numbers to his Army to serve as Volunteers, out of their particular Kindness and Respect for him) he commanded them All to retreat without the Walls. And upon the Submission of the *Selybrians*, he sav'd them from being pillag'd, and only taking of them a Sum of Money, and placing an *Atbenian* Garrison in the Town, he departed.

During this Action, the *Atbenian* Captains who besieg'd *Chalcedon*, concluded a Treaty with *Pharnabazus*

Y<sup>9</sup>L. II.

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upon these Articles; That he should give them a Sum of Money: That the *Chalcedonians* should return to the Subjection of *Athens*, and that the *Athenians* should make no Inroad into the Province whereof *Pharnabazus* was Governor; and *Pharnabazus* was also to provide safe Conducts for the *Athenian* Ambassadors to the King of *Persia*. Afterwards when *Alcibiades* return'd thither, *Pharnabazus* requir'd that He also should be sworn to the Treaty; but he refus'd it, unless *Pharnabazus* would swear at the same time. When the Treaty was sworn to on both sides, *Alcibiades* went against the *Byzantines* who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and drew a Line of Circumvallation about the City. But *Anaxilaus* and *Lycurgus*, together with some Others, having undertaken to betray the City to him, upon his Engagement to preserve the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants, he caus'd a Report to be spread abroad, as if by reason of some unexpected Commotion in *Ionia*, he should be obliged to raise the Siege. And accordingly that Day he made a shew to depart with his whole Fleet; but returned the same Night, and went ashore with all his Men at Arms, and silently and undiscovered march'd up to the Walls. At the same time his Ships were row'd into the Haven with all possible violence, coming on with much Fury, and with great Shouts and Outcries. The *Byzantines* being thus surpris'd, and quite astonish'd, while they were universally engag'd in defence of their Port and Shipping, gave opportunity to Those who favoured the *Athenians*, securely to receive *Alcibiades* into the City. Yet the Enterprize was not accomplished without fighting, for the *Peloponnesians*, *Beotians*, and *Megareans*, not only repuls'd Those who came out of the Ships, and forc'd them to get on board again, but hearing that the *Athenians* were enter'd on the other side, they drew up in order, and went to meet them. But *Alcibiades* gain'd the Victory, after a sharp Fight, wherein he Himself had the Command of the right Wing, and *Theramenes* of the left, and took about three hundred of the Enemy Prisoners. After the Battle, not one of the *Byzantines*

was



was slain, or driven out of the City, according to the Terms upon which the City was put into his Hands, that they should receive no prejudice in their Persons or Estates. Whereupon *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accused at *Lacedæmon* for this Treason, he neither disown'd nor was asham'd of the Action: For he urg'd "that he was not a *Lacedæmonian* but a *Byzantine*; and that he saw not *Sparta*, but *Byzantium*, in extreme Danger; the City so straitly begirt, that it was not possible to bring in any new Provisions, and the *Peloponnesians* and *Egeotians*, which were in Garrison, devouring their old Stores, whilst the *Byzantines* with their Wives and Children were ready to starve. That he had not betray'd his Country to Enemies, but had delivered it from the Calamities of War; wherein he had follow'd the Example of the most worthy *Lacedæmonians*, who esteem'd nothing to be honourable and just, but what was profitable for their Country."

The *Lacedæmonians*, upon the hearing his Defence, were so well pleas'd, that they discharged All that were accused. And now *Alcibiades* began to desire to see his native Country again, or rather to shew his Fellow-Citizens a Person who had gain'd so many Victories for them. To this end he set Sail for *Athens*, his Ships being adorn'd on every side with great numbers of Shields and other Spoils, and towing after them many Galleys taken from the Enemy, and the Ensigns and Ornaments of many Others which he had sunk and destroy'd; All of them together amounting to two hundred. But there is little Credit to be given to what *Daris* the *Samian* (who pretended himself to be descended from *Alcibiades*) does add, that *Chrysogonus*, who had won the Prize at the *Pythian Games*, play'd upon his Flute as the Galleys pass'd on, whilst the Oars kept time with the Musick; and that *Callipides* the Tragedian, attir'd in his Buskins, his purple Robes and other Ornaments which he used in the Theatre, excited Those who laboured at the Oars: and that the Admiral Galley enter'd into the Port with a purple Sail. For these things are such kind of Extravagancies

vagancies as are wont to follow a Debauch; and neither *Theopompus*, nor *Euphorus*, nor *Xenophon* mention them. Nor indeed is it credible, that One who returned from so long an Exile, and such a Variety of Misfortunes, should carry himself with so much Insolence and Luxury. On the contrary, he enter'd the Harbour full of Fear, nor would afterwards venture to go on shore, 'till standing on the Deck, he saw *Euryptolemus* his Nephew, and Others of his Friends and Acquaintance, who were ready to receive him, and invited him to Land. As soon as he was landed, the Multitude, who came out to meet him, disdain'd to bestow a Look on any of the other Captains, but came in Throngs about *Alcibiades*, and saluted him with loud Acclamations, and still follow'd him. They who could press near him, crown'd him with Garlands, and They who could not come up so close, yet stay'd to behold him afar off, and the old Men pointed him out, and shewed him to the young Ones. Nevertheless this publick Joy was mix'd with some Tears, and the present Happiness was allay'd by the Remembrance of all the Miseries they had endur'd. They made Reflexions " that they could not have so " unfortunately miscarried in *Sicily*, or been defeated in " any of those things which they ever hop'd for, if " they had left the Management of their Affairs, and " the Command of their Forces, to *Alcibiades*. Since " upon his undertaking the Administration, when they " were in a manner ruin'd at Sea, and could scarce " defend the Suburbs of their City by Land, and at the " same time were miserably distracted with intestine " Factions, He had rais'd them up from this low and " deplorable Condition, and had not only restor'd them " to their ancient Dominion of the Sea, but had " also made them every where victorious over their " Enemies at Land." There had been a Decree for recalling him from his Banishment already pass'd by the People, at the Instance of *Critias* the Son of *Callaischrus*, as appears by his Elegies, in which he puts *Alcibiades* in Mind of this Service.

*From my Proposal the Decree did come,  
Which from your tedious Exile brought you home.  
That you're restor'd, you to my Friendship owe;  
I was the first durst press it should be so.*

The People being summoned to an Assembly, *Alcibiades* came in amongst them, and first bewail'd and lamented his own Sufferings, and gently and modestly complain'd of their Usage, imputing all to his hard Fortune, and some ill Genius that attended him. Then he discours'd at large of the great Assurance of their Enemies, but withal exhorted them to take Courage. The People crown'd him with Crowns of Gold, and created him General both at Land and Sea with absolute Power. They also made a Decree, that his Estate should be restor'd to him, and that the *Eumolpides* and the Holy Heralds should again absolve him from the Curses which they had solemnly pronounc'd against him, by Sentence of the People. Which when all the rest obey'd, *Theodorus* the High-priest excus'd himself, For, said he, I never denounced any Execration against him, if he have done nothing against the Commonwealth.

But notwithstanding the Affairs of *Alcibiades* succeeded so prosperously, and so much to his Glory, yet Many were still much disturb'd, and look'd upon the time of his Arrival to be ominous. For on the same Day that he came into the Port, the Feast of the Goddess *Minerva*, which they call the *Plynteria*, was kept. It is the 25th Day of September, when the *Praxiërgides* do solemnize those Mysteries which are not to be revealed, taking all the Ornaments from off her Image, and keeping the Image itself close covered. Hence it is that the *Athenians* esteem'd this Day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: And therefore they imagined, that the Goddess did not receive *Alcibiades* graciously and propitiously, but hid her Face from him, and rejected him.

Notwithstanding which, every thing succeeding according to his Wish, when the hundred Gallies were fitted

out, and ready to fail; an honourable Zeal detain'd him 'till the Celebration of the grand Mysteries were fully past. For, since the time that *Decelea* was fortified, the Enemies had made themselves Masters of all the Roads which lead from *Arbens* to *Eleufis*, and by reason thereof, the Proceffion being of neceffity to go by Sea, could not be perform'd with Solemnity; but they were forced to omit the Sacrifices, and Dances, and other Holy Ceremonies, which were us'd to be perform'd in the Way called *Holy*, when the Statue of *Bacchus* is carried in Proceffion to *Eleufis*. *Alcibiades* therefore judg'd it would be a glorious Action, whereby he should do Honour to the Gods, and gain Esteem with Men, if he restor'd the ancient Splendor to these Rites, in conducting the Proceffion again by Land, and protecting it with his Army from the Enemy. For thereby he was sure, if *Agis* stood still and did not oppose him, it would very much diminish and obscure his Glory; or otherwise that he should engage in a Holy War in the Cause of the Gods, and in defence of the most sacred and solemn Ceremonies; and this in the fight of his Country, where he should have all his Fellow-Citizens Witnesses of his Valour. As soon as he had resolv'd upon this design, and had communicated it to the *Eumolpides*, and other holy Officers, he placed Sentinels on the tops of the Mountains, and at the break of Day sent forth his Scouts. And then taking with him the Priests, and consecrated Persons, and Those who had the charge of initiating Others in the holy Mysteries, and encompassing them with his Soldiers, he conducted them with great Order and profound Silence. This was an August and Venerable Proceffion, wherein All, who did not envy him, said, *He performed at once the Office of an High-priest and of a General*. The Enemy durst not attempt any thing against them; and thus he brought them back in Safety to the City. Upon which as he was exalted in his own Thought, so the opinion which the People had of his Conduct, was rais'd to that degree, that they look'd upon their Armies as irresistible and invincible while He commanded

commanded them. He so won upon the lower and meaner sort of People, that they passionately desired he would take the Sovereignty upon him; Some of them made no difficulty to tell him so, and to advise him to put himself out of the reach of Envy, by abolishing the Laws and Ordinances of the People, and suppressing those ill-affected Persons who would overturn the State, that so he might act and take upon him the Management of Affairs, without standing in fear of being called to an account. How far his own Inclinations led him to usurp Sovereign Power, is uncertain; but the most considerable Persons in the City were so much afraid of it, that they hastened him on Shipboard all they could, granting him Liberty to choose his own Officers, and allowing him all other things as he desired. Thereupon he set sail with a Fleet of an hundred Ships, and arriving at *Andros*, he there fought with and defeated, as well the Inhabitants, as the *Lacedæmonians*, who assisted them. But yet he took not the City, which gave the first Occasion to his Enemies for all their Accusations against him. Certainly if ever Man was ruined by his own Glory, it was *Alcibiades*: For his continual Success had begot such an Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, that if he failed in any one thing he undertook, it was imputed to his neglect; and no one would believe it was through want of Power: For they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. They fancied also every day, that they should hear News of the reducing of *Cbios*, and of the rest of *Ionia*, and grew impatient that things were not effected as fast and as suddenly as they imagined. They never considered how extremely Money was wanting, and that being to make War with an Enemy, who had Supplies of all things from a great King, he was often forced to forsake his Camp in order to procure Money and Provisions for the Subsistence of his Soldiers. This it was which gave occasion for the last Accusation which was made against him. For *Lysander* being sent from *Lacedæmon* with a Commission to be Admiral of their Fleet, and being furnished



nished by *Cyrus* with a great Sum of Money, gave every Mariner four Oboles a-day, whereas they had but Three. *Alcibiades* could hardly allow his Men three Oboles, and therefore was constrained to go into *Caria* to furnish himself with Money. He left the Care of the Fleet, in his absence, to *Antiochus*, an experienced Seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express Orders from *Alcibiades* not to engage, tho' the Enemy provoked him. But he slighted and disregarded the Orders to that degree, that having made ready his own Galley and Another, he presently stood for *Ephesus*, where the Enemy lay, and as he sailed before the Heads of their Galleys, used the highest Provocations possible both in Words and Deeds. *Lysander* at first manned out a few Ships, and pursued him; but all the *Athenian* Ships coming in to his Assistance, *Lysander* also brought up his whole Fleet, which gained an entire Victory. He slew *Antiochus* himself, took many Men and Ships, and erected a Trophy.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard this News, he returned to *Samos*, and loosing from thence with his whole Fleet, he came and offered Battle to *Lysander*. But *Lysander*, content with the Victory he had gained, would not stir. Amongst others in the Army who had a Malice to *Alcibiades*, *Thrasylbulus*, the Son of *Thrason*, was his particular Enemy, and went purposely to *Athens* to accuse him, and to exasperate his Enemies in the City against him. In an Oration to the People he represented that *Alcibiades* had ruined their Affairs, and lost their Ships, by insolently abusing his Authority, committing the Government of the Army in his Absence, to such as by their Debauchery and scurrilous Discourses got most into Credit with him, whilst he wander'd up and down at pleasure to raise Money, giving himself up to all Luxury and Excesses amongst the *Athenian* and *Ionian* Courtezans, at a time when the Enemy's Navy rode at Anchor so near His. It was also objected to him, that he had fortified a Castle near *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, for a safe Retreat for himself, as One that either could not, or would

would not live in his own Country. The *Athenians* gave Credit to these Informations, and discovered the Resentment and Displeasure which they had conceived against him, by choosing other Generals.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard of this, he immediately forsook the Army, being afraid of what might follow : And getting many Strangers together, he made War upon his own account against those *Thracians* who pretended to be free, and acknowledged no King. By this means he amass'd to himself a great Treasure out of the Spoils which he took, and at the same time secured the bordering *Grecians* from the Incursions of the *Barbarians*.

*Tydeus*, *Menander* and *Adimantus*, the new-made Generals, were at that time riding in the River *Egos*, with all the Ships which the *Athenians* had left : From whence they used to go out to Sea every Morning, and offer Battle to *Lysander*, who lay at Anchor near *Lampsacus* ; and when they had done so, returning back again, they lay all the rest of the Day carelessly and without Order, as Men who despised the Enemy. *Alcibiades*, who was not far off, did not think so slightly of their Danger, nor did neglect to let them know it, but mounting his Horse, he came to the Generals, and represented to them, that they had chosen a very inconvenient Station, as wanting a safe Harbour, and far distant from any Town ; so that they were constrained to send for their necessary Provisions as far as *Sestos* : He also reprovd them for their Carelessness, in suffering the Soldiers when they went ashore, to disperse themselves, and wander up and down at their Pleasure, when the Enemy's Fleet, which was under the Command of one General, and strictly obedient to Discipline, lay so very near them. *Alcibiades* admonished them of these things, and advised them to remove the Fleet to *Sestos*. But the Admirals did not only disregard what he said, but *Tydeus* with great Insolence commanded him to be gone, saying, That now not He, but others had the Command of the Forces. Whereupon *Alcibiades* suspecting something of Treachery in them, departed. But he told his Friends who accompanied him out of the Camp, that if the Generals

vals had not used him with such insupportable Contempt, he would within a few Days have forced the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to have fought the Athenians at Sea, or to have deserted their Ships. Some looked upon This as a piece of Ostentation only, but Others said, the thing was probable, for that he might have embark'd great Numbers of the Thracian Cavalry and Archers, to assault and disorder them in their Camp. The Event did soon make it evident, how very rightly he judged of the Errors which the Athenians committed; For Lysander fell upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such Fury, that Conon, with eight Gallies only escaped him, all the rest (which were about two hundred) he took and carried away, together with three thousand Prisoners, which he afterwards puts to Death. And within a short time after, he took Athens itself, burnt all the Ships which he found there, and demolished their long Walls.

After this Alcibiades standing in dread of the Lacedæmonians, who were now Masters both at Sea and Land, retired into Bithynia. He sent thither great Treasure before him, took Much with him, but left much more in the Castle where he had before resided. But he lost great part of his Wealth in Bithynia, being robbed by some Thracians who lived in those Parts; and thereupon he determined to go to the Court of Artaxerxes, not doubting but that the King, if he would make trial of his Abilities, would find him not inferior to Themistocles, besides that he was recommended by a more honourable Cause. For He went not, as Themistocles did, to offer his Service against his Fellow-Citizens, but against their Enemies, and to implore the King's Aid for the Defence of his Country. He concluded that Pharnabazus would most readily procure him a safe Conduct, and therefore went into Phrygia to him, and continued to dwell there some time, paying him great Respect, and being honourably treated by him. The Athenians in the mean time were miserably afflicted at their loss of Empire, but when they were deprived of Liberty also, and Lysander had imposed thirty Governors upon the City, and their State

was finally ruined, then they began to reflect on those things, which they would never consider whilst they were in a prosperous Condition: then they did acknowledge and bewail their former Errors and Follies, and judged the second ill Usage of *Alcibiades* to be of all Others the most inexcusable: For he was rejected without any Fault committed by himself; and only because they were incensed against his Lieutenant for having shamefully lost a few Ships, they much more shamefully deprived the Commonwealth of a most valiant and most accomplished General. Yet in this sad State of Affairs they had still some faint Hopes left them, nor would they utterly despair of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, while *Alcibiades* was safe. For they persuaded themselves before when he was an Exile, he could not content himself to live idle and at ease, much less now (if he could find any favourable Opportunity) would he endure the Insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Outrages of the thirty Tyrants. Nor was it an absurd thing in the People to entertain such Imaginations, when the thirty Tyrants themselves were so very solicitous to be informed, and to get Intelligence of all his Actions and Designs. In fine, *Critias* represented to *Lysander*, that the *Lacedæmonians* could never securely enjoy the Dominion of *Greece*, 'till the *Athenian* Democracy was absolutely destroyed. And tho' now the People of *Athens* seemed quietly and patiently to submit to so small a Number of Governors, yet *Alcibiades*, whilst he lived, would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present Circumstances.

Yet *Lysander* would not be prevailed upon by these Discourses, 'till at last he received secret Letters from the Magistrates of *Lacedæmon*, expressly requiring him to get *Alcibiades* dispatched: Whether it was that they feared the Vivacity of his Wit, or the Greatness of his Courage in enterprising what was hazardous, or whether it was done to gratify King *Agis*. Upon receipt of this Order, *Lysander* sent away Messengers to *Pbarnabazus*, desiring him to put it in execution. *Pbarnabazus* committed the Affair to *Mageus* his Brother, and to his

Uncle

Uncle *Susamithres*. *Alcibiades* resided at that time in a small Village in *Pbrygia*, together with *Timandra*, a Mistress of His. As he slept, he had this Dream: He thought himself attired in his Mistress's Habit, and that She, holding him in her Arms, dressed his Head, and painted his Face, as if he had been a Woman. Others say, he dreamed that *Magæus* cut off his Head, and burnt his Body; and it is said, that it was but a little while before his Death that he had these Visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not Courage enough to enter the House, but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. *Alcibiades* as soon as he perceived it, getting together great Quantities of Cloaths and Furniture, threw them upon the Fire with a Design to choke it; and having wrapped his Robe about his left Arm, and holding his naked Sword in his Right, he cast himself into the middle of the Fire, and escaped securely thro' it, before it had time to take thoroughly the Furniture, and other Materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him, but standing at a distance, they slew him with their Darts and Arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead Body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own Robes, the very best she had, she buried it as decently and as honourably as her present Circumstances would allow. 'Tis said, that the famous *Lais*, (who was called the *Corinthian*, tho' she was a Native of *Hiccaris*, a small Town in *Sicily*, from whence she was brought a Captive) was the Daughter of this *Timandra*. There are Some who agree with this Relation of *Alcibiades*'s Death in all things, except only that they impute not the Cause of it either to *Pharnabazus*, *Lysander*, or the *Lacedæmonians*; but they say, that he kept a young Lady of a noble House, whom he had debauch'd; and that her Brothers not being able to endure the Indignity, by Night set fire to the House where he dwelt, and as he endeavoured to save himself from the Flames, slew him with their Darts, in the manner before related.





THE  
L I F E  
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*Caius Marcius Coriolanus.*

**T**HE House of the *Marcii* in *Rome* produced many eminent Patricians; and among the rest, *Ancus Marcius*, who was Grandson to *Numa* by his Daughter *Pomponia*, and reigned there after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same Family were also *Publius*, and *Quintus Marcius*; which two brought into the City the greatest part of the best Water in *Rome*. As also *Censorinus*; who after he had been twice chosen Censor by the People, persuaded them himself to make a perpetual Decree, that no body should bear that Office a second time. *Caius Marcius*, of whom I now write, being left an Orphan, and brought up under the Widowhood of his Mother, has shewn that the early Loss of a Father, tho' attended with other disadvantages, yet can prove no hindrance to a Man's being virtuous, or eminent in the World: otherwise might bad Men exclaim against That, and a loose Education, as the Cause of their corrupt and debauched

bauched Lives. This same Person also was a remarkable evidence of the Truth of their Opinion, who thinks that a generous and good Nature without Discipline (like a fat Soil without Culture) must produce plenty of Bad and Good intermix'd. For his undaunted Courage and firm Constancy spurred him on, and carried him through many glorious Actions; but his ungoverned Passion and inflexible Obstinacy made him appear harsh and disagreeable among Friends, and wholly unfit for the Ease and Freedom of Conversation. So that Those who admired to see his Soul unshaken either by Pleasures, Toils, or the temptations of Money, allowing his Constancy the respective names of Temperance, Justice and Fortitude; yet in civil Intercourse and affairs of State, they could not but be disgusted at his rough imperious Temper, too haughty for a Republick. And indeed the advantages of a liberal Education are in nothing more apparent than This, that it softens and polishes a rugged Temper by rules of Prudence, and precepts of Morality, teaching Men to moderate their Desires, to choose the sober Mean, and avoid Extremes.

In those times, that sort of Galantry, which exerted itself in military Arts and martial Attainments, was most encouraged and esteemed at Rome; which is evident from hence, that the *Latin* Word for Virtue came then to signify Valour, and the general Term was applied to that particular Excellence, which is properly called Fortitude. Now *Marcus* having a more than ordinary Inclination for military Exercises, began to handle Arms from his very Childhood; but thought that external Instruments, and artificial Arms would be of small Service to Them who had not their natural Weapons ready, and at command; so he exercised and prepared his Body for all manner of Engagements; he acquired a nimble Swiftnes to pursue, and such a steady Firmness to grapple and wrestle with the Enemy, that None could easily get clear of him; so that All who tried their Abilities with him and were worsted in the Engagement, excused their own Weakness by pleading his

his invincible Strength, hardned against all Opposition, and Proof against Pain.

The first Expedition he made was in his Youth, when *Tarquin* (who had been King of *Rome*, but afterwards banished) after many Skirmishes and Defeats, made his last Push, and ventured all at a single Throw. A great number of the *Latins*, and other People of *Italy*, had joined Forces with him, and were marching towards the City, tho' not so much out of desire to serve and restore *Tarquin*, as Fear and Envy of the *Roman* Greatness, which they intended to pull down from its late advancement. The Armies engaged in a decisive Battle, which had various Turns; *Marcus* fighting bravely in the Dictator's Presence, saw a *Roman* Soldier fall nigh him; instead of deserting him in that Extremity, he stepped in immediately to his Rescue, beat off, and slew the Aggressor. The General having got the Victory, crowned him first for that Action with a Garland of Oak; for This was the Reward given to a Soldier who had saved the Life of any *Roman* Citizen; whether the Law intended some special Honour to the Oak, in Memory of the *Arcadians*, whom the Oracle had celebrated by the name of *Acorn-eaters*; or because they could easily meet with Plenty of it, where-ever they fought; or as the Oaken Wreath was sacred to *Jupiter*, the great Guardian of their City, they might therefore think it the most proper Ornament for Him who preserved a Citizen. Besides, the Oak is a Tree that bears the most and fairest Fruit of any that grows wild, and is stronger than Any that are dressed and improved by Art; its Acorns also were the principal Diet of the first Ages; and the Honey which was commonly found there, afforded them a very pleasant Liquor; it supplied them too even with Fowl and other Creatures for Dainties, producing Mistletoe, for Birdlime, that artful Instrument to insnare them. But to return. It is reported that *Castor* and *Pollux* appear'd in the Battle before mentioned, and immediately after it were seen at *Rome* in the *Forum*, just by the Fountain where their

Temple now stands; upon Horses all foaming with Sweat, as if they had rid Post thither to bring News of the Victory; on which account the 15th of July (being the Day of this Conquest) was dedicated to the Twin-Gods.

Now we may observe in general, that when young Men meet with Applause, and an early Reputation, if they have Souls but slightly touched with Ambition, all their thirst for Glory is soon extinguished, and their Desires satiated; whereas Honours conferred on a more firm and solid Mind, illustrate and enlarge it; they neither dull the Appetite, nor strain the Capacity, but like a brisk Gale drive it on in pursuit of farther Glory. Such a Man looks upon Fame, not as a Reward of his present Virtue, but as an Earnest he has given of his future Performances; and is ashamed to underlive the Credit he has won, and not outshine his past illustrious Actions. *Marcus* had a Soul of this Frame. He was always endeavouring to excel Himself, and continually engaged in some new Exploit. Whatever extraordinary Action he had performed, he thought himself obliged to out-do it the next Opportunity. He added one great Action to Another, and heaped Trophies upon Trophies, till he became the Subject of a glorious Contest among the Generals; the latter of them still striving with his Predecessor, which should pay him the greatest respect, and speak highest in his Commendation. For the Romans having many Wars in those times, and frequent Engagements, *Marcus* was present at them All, and never returned without Laurels or Rewards; and whereas Others made Glory the end of their Valour, the end of his Glory was the Gladness of his Mother, whom he loved most tenderly. The delight she took to hear him praised, and to see him crown'd, and her weeping for Joy in his Embraces, made him in his own Thoughts, the most honourable and happy Person in the World: A Sentiment not unlike That of *Epaminondas*, who is said to profess, that he reckoned it the greatest Felicity of his whole Life, that

that his Father and Mother still survived to behold his Conduct and Victory at *Leuëtra*. He had the Satisfaction indeed to see both his Parents partake with Him, and enjoy the Pleasure of his good Fortune; but *Marcus* holding himself obliged to pay his Mother *Volumnia* all that Duty and Gratitude which would have belonged to his Father, could never satisfy his Mind, or think he did enough in all the Comforts and Caresses she received from him, but took a Wife also at her Motion and Intreaty; and after she had born him Children, lived still with his Mother. The repute of his Integrity and Courage had by this time gained him a considerable Interest and Authority at *Rome*, when the Senate favouring the richer sort of Citizens were at difference with the common People, who made grievous Complaints against the intolerable Severity of their Creditors. For Those that had any considerable Stocks, were soon strip'd of their Goods by way of Pawns and Auctions; and Those that were already reduced, they carried to Prison, and kept their Bodies under Confinement, tho' they showed upon them the Scars and Wounds which they had received in the Service of their Country, in several Expeditions; particularly in the Last against the *Sabines*; which they undertook upon a Promise made by the rich Creditors, that they would use them more mildly for the future, *Marcus Valerius* the Consul having engaged also for the Performance of it. But when they had fought there with Alacrity and Courage, and returned home Victors, no abatement of their Debts was made; the Senate too pretended to remember nothing of that Agreement, and beheld them without any concern dragged away like Slaves, and their Goods seiz'd upon as formerly. This caused frequent Tumults, and open Mutinies in the City; and the Enemy perceiving these Distractions among the People, began to invade and lay waste the Country. Upon This the Consuls gave notice that All that were of Age should appear in Arms; but no body obeyed the Summons. This set the Magistrates themselves at dif-

ference.



ference. Some thought it most adviseable to comply a little with the Poor, and remit something of the strict Rigour of the Law. Others declared against that Proposal, and particularly *Marcus*. He thought the Business of the Money was not the main thing to be regarded; but looked upon these disorderly Proceedings as an Instance of the People's growing Insolence, and an Attempt to subvert the establish'd Laws; it would therefore become the Wisdom of the Government to stop them in their first Career, and stifle those unruly Heats that were now flaming out into a Combustion.

There had been frequent Conventions of the Senate in a few Days time about this Affair, but no satisfactory Conclusion could be agreed on. The Commonality perceiving no Redress, on a sudden rose all in a Body, and after some time spent in encouraging one another, left the City, and marching up that Ascent which is now called the *Holy Mount*, they sat down by the River *Anien*. They committed no Act of Hostility, in their March, only they made heavy Outcries as they passed along, complaining, that the rich Men had expelled, and thrust them out of the City; that Italy would every where afford them the Benefit of Air and Water for the small remainder of their Lives, and a Place of Burial when they died, which was all they had to expect, if they staid in Rome, besides being killed and wounded in time of War for the defence of their Oppressors. The Senate dreading the Consequence of this Rupture, sent some of the gravest of their Order, such as were most moderate, and best beloved among the People, to treat with them,

*Menenius Agrippa*, their chief Spokesman, after much Courtship to the Rabble, and no less Freedom us'd on behalf of the Senate, came at length to conclude his Discourse with this celebrated Fable. It once happened, says he, that all the other Members of Man's Body fell to mutiny against the Stomach, which they accused as the only idle uncontributing Part in the Whole, while the rest were put to mighty Hardships, and the expence of much Labour

Labour to supply That, and minister to its appetites. But the provident and painful Stomach, bearing such a senseless charge brought against her, could not choose but laugh at the Ignorance and Ill-breeding of those dissatisfied Members, who either wanted the Wit to understand, or else the Civility to acknowledge, that she receives the nourishment into her Office out of meer Charity to the publick; which she returns ever with Advantage; that being prepared by the Art of her Chemistry, it may pass and circulate to All, and so furnish them with spirits for Life and Action. Now this is exactly the case betwixt you and the Senate, O ye Roman Citizens, and the very Image of its Care and kind Dealing as to your Regard; for there they mingle Counsels, and digest Matters, which become the Strength and Maintenance of the whole State; and that secretly disperse and bring home all manner of Support and Convenience to every one of you.

This Story, and the Application, pacified the People; so they only desired the Choice of five Men to protect such as should need assistance, and relieve the Injured; which Officers are now called Tribunes of the People. This was granted by the Senate; and the two first they chose were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, the Ring-leaders of that Sedition. The City being thus re-united, the Commons presently took Arms, and readily listed themselves under their Commanders for the War. As for Marcius, tho' he was not a little displeased at these Incroachments of the Populace, and the declining Power of the Senate, and observed most of the other Patricians were of the same Mind; yet he intreated them not to be less zealous than the People for the Service of their Country, but to shew themselves superior to them, not so much in Power and Riches, as in their virtuous and heroick Minds.

The Romans were now at War with a Nation called the Volscians; whose principal Seat, or City of the greatest Note and Eminence, was that of Corioli; when therefore Cominius the Consul had invested this important Place, the rest of the Volscians, fearing it should

be

be taken, muster'd up whatever Force they could make from all Parts, in order to relieve it, designing to give the *Romans* Battle before the City, and so attack them on both Sides. *Cominius*, to avoid this Inconvenience, divided his Army, marching himself with one Body to encounter those *Volsicians* that made towards him from without, and leaving *Titus Larcus* (the bravest Roman of his time) to command the Other, and still carry on the Siege. Those within *Corioli* despising now the Smallness of that Number, made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein they prevailed at first, and pursued the *Romans* into their Trenches. Here *Marcus* with a small Party flying out to their Assistance, cut in pieces the First that were in his way, stood the Shock of the Rest, and stop'd them in their full Career; then with a great Shout recalled the *Romans*. For he had (what *Cato* required in a Soldier) not only an irresistible Stroke and dreadful Arm; but the very Sound of his Voice, and Terror of his Aspect, struck Horror and Confusion into the Enemy. Divers of his own Party then rallying and making up to him, the Enemies soon retreated for fear of a smarter Onset from Those they had but now routed: But *Marcus*, not content to see them draw off and retire, press'd hard upon the Rear, and drove them, as they fled away in haste, to the very Gates of their City; where perceiving the *Romans* to fall back from the Pursuit, beaten off by a multitude of Darts poured down upon them from the Walls, and that none of his Followers had the hardiness to think of falling in pell-mell among the Runagates, or forcing an Entrance into the City, which had a strong Garrison ready to give them a warm reception; he was however instant with, and did mightily encourage them by his Words and Actions, crying out, *That Fortune had now set open Corioli, not so much to shelter the Vanquished, as to receive the Conquerors*; which he had no sooner spoken, but seconded by a Few that were willing to venture with him, he bore along the Crowd, made good his Passage, and thrust himself into the

Gate

Gate through the midst of them, no body daring to resist or sustain the violence of his first Impressions; but after he had looked well about him, and could discern but a very small number of Assistants who had slip'd in to engage in that hazardous Service, and saw that Friends and Enemies were now mingled together, there collecting all his Forces, he perform'd the most extraordinary and incredible Actions, as well for the Mightiness of his Force, as the Nimbleness of his Motion, and the Audacity of his Mind, breaking through all Opposition, constraining Some to shift for themselves in the farthest Corners of the City, and Others to throw down their Weapons, as despairing they should be able to oppose him. By all which he gave Titus Larcus a fair occasion to bring in the rest of the Romans with Ease and Safety.

Corioli being thus surpris'd and taken, the greater part of the Soldiers fell presently to spoil and pillage; and seem'd to have no other Cares about them but how to plunder, and carry off their Booty; at which Marcius was highly offended, and reproach'd them for it as a dishonourable and unworthy thing, that whilst the Consul and their Fellow-Citizens were now perhaps encountering the other Volscians, and were bazzarding their Lives in Battle, They should basely mis-spend their time in running up and down for Pelf and Treasure, and under a pretence of enriching themselves, decline the present Jeopardy; yet for all he could alledge, there were not many that would leave plundering for a Share in Glory: Putting himself then at the Head of those generous Spirits, that were still ready to deserve well, he took that Road where the Consul's Army had march'd before him, often exciting his Companions, and beseeching them as they went along, *That they would not falter and give out*; praying often to the Gods too, that he might be so happy as to arrive before the Fight was over, and come seasonably up to assist Cominius, and partake in the peril of that Action;

It was customary with the *Romans* of that Age, when they stood in Battle-Array, and were taking up their Bucklers, and girding their Gowns about them, to make at the same time an unwritten Will or meer verbal Testament, and to name who should be their Heirs in the hearing of three or four Witnesses: In this Posture did *Marcus* find them at his arrival, the Enemy being advanced within View.

They were not a little disordered by his first appearance, seeing him all over bloody and sweating as he was, and attended with a small Train; but when he hastily made up to the Consul with an Air of Gladness in his Looks, giving him his Hand, and recounting to him how the City had been taken; when they saw *Cominius* also embrace and salute *Marcus* upon that Discourse, then every one took heart afresh, and both such as were near enough to hear the Relation of his Success, and Those that, being at a greater distance, could only guess what had happened by the manner of their greeting, besought the Consul with a loud Voice, that he would lead them on to engage the Enemy; but *Marcus* first desired to know how the *Volsicians* had disposed the Order of their Battalia, where they had placed the Men of Mettle, and the most resolute Part of the whole Army: *Cominius* told him he thought that the Troops of the *Antiates* in the main Body were Men of the best Courage, and inferior to none in Conduct and Bravery: *Let me then demand and obtain of you*, says *Marcus*, *that I may be directly confronted to these daring People*. The Consul favoured him in that Request, admiring much the forwardness and ardour of his Mind. When the Conflict was begun, *Marcus* sallied out before the rest, and charged with so much Fury, that the Van-Guard of the *Volsicians* were not able to stand their Ground: For wheresoever he fell in, he presently broke their Ranks, and made a Lane through them; but the Parties rallying again, and inclosing him on each side, the Consul, who observed the danger he was in, dispatched some of the choicest Men



Men he had for his speedy Rescue. The Dispute then growing warm and sharp about *Marcus*, and Many falling dead in a little space, the *Romans* bore so hard upon the Enemies, and pressed them with such Violence, that they were forc'd at length to abandon their Stations, and to quit the Field ; and going now to prosecute the Victory, they besought *Marcus*, tir'd out with his Toils, and faint and heavy through the loss of Blood, that he would retire himself to the Camp ; but he replying, *that Weariness was a thing which did not besit Conquerors*, join'd with them in the Pursuit. The whole Army of the *Volscians* was defeated, a great multitude being slain, and as many taken. The next Morning *Marcus* being sent for, and the other chief Officers summoned to attend in the General's Tent, the Consul mounted the Tribunal, and having in the first place rendered to the Gods the Thanks and Acknowledgments due for that important Victory, he then address'd himself to *Marcus*, whom he highly extolled for his many signal Exploits, part of which he had been an Eye-witness of himself, and had received the Rest upon the Testimony of *Lartius*. He then desired him to choose a Tenth part of all the Treasure, and Horses, and Captives, that had fallen into their hands, before any division should be made to Others ; beside which, he made him the Present of a goodly Horse with Trappings and Military Ornaments, as a Mark and Cognisance of his signal Fortitude ; which being highly applauded by the whole Army, *Marcus* step'd forth and declared his thankful acceptance of that single Horse, and how extremely satisfied he was with the Praise and Elogy which his General had vouchsafed to bestow upon him ; but as for other things, which he looked upon rather as mercenary Pay than any significations of Honour, he did wave them all, and should be content that his proportion of such Rewards might not exceed That of the meanest Soldier. *I have only*, says he, *one singular Grace to beg, and this, Sir, I hope you will not deny me ; There was among the Volscians a*  
*certain*

certain Friend of mine, bound with Me in the sacred Rights of Hospitality, a Person of great Probity and Virtue, who now is become a Prisoner, and from the Wealth and Freedom wherein he lived, reduc'd to Poverty and Servitude; the Man has fallen under many Misfortunes, but he would think it a sufficient Deliverance, if my Intercession shall redeem him from this One at least, that he may not be sold as a common Slave. These Words of Marcius were followed with still louder Acclamations, and he had many more Admirers of this generous Resolution by which he conquered Avarice, than of the Valour he had shewn in subduing his Enemies. For those very Persons that were touch'd with Spite and Envy at seeing so many Honours heaped upon him, could not but acknowledge that he was worthy of still Greater, for thus nobly declining them; and were more in love with that Virtue of his, which made him despise such Advantages, than That whereby he had deserved them. For 'tis much more commendable to make a right use of Riches, than Arms, and more honourable and heroic still to despise them, than to know how to make a right use of them. When the Acclamations began to cease, and Silence was obtained, Cominius turning to the People: *There is no way*, says he, *Fellow-Soldiers, of forcing these Gifts of ours on a Person above such Gratiitudes and so unwilling to accept them: Let us therefore give him, what is so proper and suitable to the Service he has done, that he cannot reject it; let us pass a Vote that he shall hereafter be called Coriolanus, unless you think his Performance at Corioli has itself prevented us in decreeing him that Title.* Hence therefore came his third Name of Coriolanus. By which it appears, that Caius was his proper Name; that the second or Sur-name of Marcius was a Name common to his House and Family; and that the third Roman Appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, drawn afterwards and impos'd either from some particular Fact, or Fortune, or Signature, or Virtue of Him that bore it; for thus also among the Greeks additional Titles

were

were given to Some for their Exploits, as *Soter*, that is, *the Preserver*, and *Callanicus*, *the famous Conqueror*. Others for something remarkable in their Shape, as *Physon*, *the Gorge-Belly*, or *Crypus*, *Eagle-nos'd*: Or for their good Qualities, as *Euergetes*, *the Benefactor*; and *Philadelphus*, *the lover of his Brethren*; or their good Fortune, as *Eudæmon*, *the Prosperous*; an Epithet given to the second Prince of the *Batti*. Several Princes also have had Names appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as *Antigonus* That of *Dofon*, or *One that was liberal only in the future*, since he always promised, but never came to Performance; and *Ptolomy*, who was stiled *Lamyrus*, for the *fond Opinion* he had of his own *Wit and Pleasantness*; which latter kind of Denomination, by way of Rallery, the *Romans* did very much delight in; for one of the *Merelli* was furnamed by them *Diadematus*, because he had for a long time together walked about with his Head bound up, by reason of an Ulcer in his Forehead.

Another of the same Family they called *Celer*, i. e. *the swift or nimble*, for that Expedition and Dispatch he made to procure them a Funeral Entertainment of so many pair of Gladiators, within a few days after his Father's Death; the haste and magnificence of which Provision, was thought very strange and extraordinary for so short a time. There are Some that even at this Day derive their Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; One for Instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*; but if after his Decease, they stile him *Posthumus*; and when two Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor of them is called *Popiscus*; nay, they use to denominate not only their *Sylla's* and *Nigers*, that is, Men of a pimpled or swarthy Visage, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, the blind and the lame, from such corporal Blemishes and Defects; thus wisely accustoming their People not to reckon either the loss of Sight, or any other bodily Misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace to them,

them, but that they should answer to such Names without shame or confusion, as their proper Appellations: But to treat of these things is not so proper to the Argument I have now in hand.

The War against the *Volsians* was no sooner at an end, but the popular Tribunes and factious Orators fell again to revive domestick Troubles, and raise another Sedition, without any new cause of Complaint or just Grievance to proceed upon; but those very mischiefs that did unavoidably ensue from their former differences and contests, were then made use of as a ground and pretence to quarrel with the Nobility: The greatest part of their Arable Land had been left unsown and without Tillage, and the time of War allowing them no means or leisure to fetch in Provision from other Countries, there was an extreme scarcity in *Rome*: The Movers of the People then observing that there was neither Corn brought into the Market, or if there had been any to supply them, yet they wanted Money to buy it, began to calumniate the Wealthy, and whisper it about, as if They, out of an old Grudge, and to revenge themselves, had purposely contrived it thus, to bring a Famine upon them. While these things were in agitation, there came an Embassy from the *Velitrani*, who delivered up their City to the *Romans*, desiring that they would send some new Inhabitants to people it, inasmuch as a late Pestilential Disease had swept away so many of the Natives, and made such havock and destruction among them, that there was hardly a tenth part remaining of their whole Community. Now this sad necessity of the *Velitrani* was considered by the more prudent sort as a seasonable relief unto themselves, and seemed to happen very opportunely for the present state of their affairs; for not only the Dearth of Victuals had made it needful to ease and unburden the City of its superfluous Members, but they were in hope also at the same time, by this means, to scatter and dissolve the Faction which now threatened them, through a purgation and discharge of the more restless and in-

flamed

flamed Party, that like a redundancy of morbid Humours, put them all into so dangerous a Ferment. Such as These therefore the Consuls singled out to supply the desolation at *Velitra*, and gave notice to Others that they should be ready to march against the *Volsians*, which was politickly designed to prevent intestine Broils, by employing them abroad. And there was some reason to presume, that when as well the Rich as the Poor, Those of the *Plebeian* side, and the *Patrician* Interest, should be mingled again in the same Army, and the same Camp, and engage in one common Service and Jeopardy for the Publick, it would mutually dispose them to reconciliation and friendship, and to live upon gentler terms, and after a more sweet and benign fashion with each other.

But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, the Two factious *Damogues*, opposed both these Designs; exclaiming publicly, that the Consuls were going to disguise the most cruel and barbarous Action in the World, under that so mild and plausible name of a Colony, for no other end, but that they might precipitate so many poor Citizens, as it were, into the very gulf of Perdition, by removing them to settle in an infectious Air, and a Place that was covered with noisome Carcases, and sending them to sojourn under a strange and revengeful Deity; and then, as if it would not satisfy their hatred, to destroy Some by Hunger, and expose Others to the mercy of a Plague, they must proceed to involve them also in a needless War of their own choosing; that all other Calamities might fall upon the City at once, because it did refuse to bear That of being any longer in slavery to the Rich.

By which kind of Discourses, the People were so filled with Aversion and Insolence, that none of them would appear upon the Consular Summons to be listed for the War, and they did as little relish the Proposal for a new Plantation: This put the Senate into such perplexity, that it was utterly at a loss what to say or do. But *Marcius*, who began now to swell and bear



himself higher than ordinary, and to take more Spirit and Confidence from his noble Actions, being admired too by the best and greatest Men of *Rome*, did openly oppose the Harangues and Practices of these popular Incendiaries; so that in spite of them a Colony was dispatched to *Velitrae*; Those that were chosen by Lot, being obliged to depart and repair thither upon high Penalties: But when he saw them obstinately persist in refusing to Inrol themselves for the *Volscean* Service, *Marcus* then muster'd up his own Clients, and as many Others as could be wrought upon by Persuasion; and with These he made an Inroad into the Territories of the *Antiates*, where finding a considerable Quantity of Corn, and lighting upon much Booty both of Cattle and Prisoners, he reserved nothing for himself in private, but returned safe and empty to *Rome*, whilst Those that ventured out with him were seen loaded with rich Pillage, and driving their Prey before them; which made the rest that stay'd at home repent of their Perverseness, and envy such as had sped so well by the Enterprize; yea, and to be aggrieved and repine at *Marcus*, and the Power and Reputation he still got, as that which did increase and rise only to the lessening and ruin of the People's Interest. Not long after This he stood for the Consulship, when they began to relent, and inclined to favour him, as being sensible what a Shame it would be to repulse and affront a Man of his Family and Courage, and that too after he had done them so many signal Services, and been the Author of so much good and benefit to the Publick. Now it was the Custom for Those who pretended to Offices and Dignities among them, to solicit and caress the People at their General Assemblies, clad only in a loose Gown, without any Coat under it, either to promote their Supplications the better, by suing in such an humble Habit, or that such as had receiv'd Wounds in the War might thus more readily demonstrate the visible Tokens of their Fortitude: For it was not from any Suspicion the People then had of Bribery and Corruption, that they

they required such as did petition them to appear ungirt and open without any close Garment; for it was much later, and many Ages after This, that buying and selling crept in at their Elections, and Money was an Ingredient in the publick Suffrages; but Gifts and Presents had no sooner shewn what influence they had, and what Parties they could make for choosing Magistrates, but the same Practise came to attempt their Tribunals, and even attack their Camps, 'till by hiring the Valiant, and enslaving Iron to Silver, it grew Master of the State, and turned their Commonwealth into a Monarchy; for it was well and truly said by Him, who did affirm, *That the Person who first began to give Treats and Largeſſes to the People, was He that first deprived them of their Strength and Power*; but the Mischief it seems stole secretly in, and by little and little, not being presently discerned and taken notice of at Rome; for it is not certainly known who the Man was that did there first either bribe the Citizens, or corrupt the Bench; but in *Athens* it is said, that *Anitus* the Son of *Anthemion* was the first that gave Money to the Judges, toward the latter end of the *Peloponnesian* War, he being then accused of Treachery, for delivering up the Fort of *Pyle*; whilst uncorrupt Judges, the Remains of the golden Age, did as yet preside and give Sentence in the *Roman* Courts. *Marcus* therefore, as the Fashion of Candidates was, laying open the Scars and Gashes that were still visible in his Body, from those innumerable Battles and Conflicts wherein he had successively engaged, and always victoriously signalized himself for seventeen Years together; out of a certain reverence for his Virtue they were ashamed to refuse him, and therefore engaged One with the Other to choose him *Consul*; but when the Day of Election was now come, and *Marcus* appeared at the Place where they were to give their Votes, with a pompous Train of Senators attending him, and all the *Patricians* did manifestly express a greater Concern, and acted more vigorously in this Particular than they had ever done before on the

like Occasion; the Commons then fell off again from all the kindness they had conceived for him, and instead of their late Benevolence, were carried to Indignation and Envy on the sudden; the Malignity of which Passions was assisted too, by the general Fear they were in, that if a Man, who was clearly for having the Senate govern, and was so mightily respected by the Nobles, should be invested with all the Power which that Office would give him, he might employ it to their Prejudice, and utterly deprive the People of that Liberty which was yet left them: Being therefore so ill affected, and reasoning thus among themselves, in conclusion they rejected *Marcus*. When two others were declared Consuls, the Senate took it extremely ill, reckoning that the Indignity reflected more on themselves than *Marcus*, who for his own part was very sensibly nettled at this Proceeding, and could not bear the Disgrace with any Temper: Having used to indulge the more violent and impetuous passions of his Soul, as if there was something of Bravery and Grandeur in such Transports, without a due Mixture of that Gravity and Gentleness, Virtues so necessary for civil Conduct, and which are the Effects of mature Reason, and a good Education; He did not consider, that whoever undertakes to manage publick Business, and converse with Men, must above all things avoid an Obstinacy of Opinion which (as *Plato* says) is fit for conversing with nothing but Solitude, and endeavour to endear himself by the contrary Qualities, so much derided by the Ignorant and Injudicious, such as Patience and Forbearance; whereas *Marcus* being plain and artless, but ever rigid and inflexible, and strongly persuaded, that to prevail and vanquish All he had to do with, was the proper work of Fortitude, and not rather a Weakness and Effeminacy of Mind, which pushes out Fury from within, like the Swelling of a bruised and painful Part, flung away in great Disorder, being bitterly enraged against the People. The youngest part of the Patriarchs, that carried it highest on account of their Birth, and

and made the greatest Figure in the City, were always wonderfully devoted to his Interest, and happening unfortunately to be present at that time, and engaged on his Side, by their Resentments and Condolence, much aggravated his Misfortunes, and inflamed him; for He was their Leader in every Expedition, and a kind Instructor in all Martial Affairs; he taught them also a truly virtuous Emulation; to value themselves on a good Deed, without Detraction, and praise one another without Envy.

In the midst of these Distempers a great Quantity of Corn was brought into *Rome*, a considerable part whereof had been bought up in *Italy*, which was equaled by another Stock from *Syracuse*, as a Present from *Gelo*, King of *Sicily*; so that Many began to have good hopes of their affairs, expecting the City would by this Means be delivered at once both from its Want and Discord. The Council being thereon immediately called, the People came flocking about the Senate-house, eagerly attending the Issue of that Deliberation, and expecting that the Market-Rates would be gentle and easy for That which had been bought, and that That which was sent in as a Gift, and came on free-coast, should be distributed *gratis* among them; for there were Some within who advised the Senate thus to moderate the Price of the One, and give such Orders for the Disposal of the Other. But *Marcus* standing up, did sharply inveigh against Those who spoke in favour of the Multitude, calling them Flatterers of the Rabble, and Traitors to the Senate; affirming, *That by such mean and foolish Gratifications they nourished those ill Seeds of Boldness and Petulance, that had been sown among the People, to their own Prejudice; which they would have done well to observe and stifle at their first Appearance, and not have suffered the Plebeians to grow so strong, by giving such exorbitant Authority to their Tribunes; for they were become formidable by complying with them in whatever they demanded, and yielding to their Humour; so that living in a Sort of Anarchy, they would no longer*  
obey

obey the Consuls, or own any Superior, but the Heads and Leaders of their own Faction; and when things are come to this pass, for us, says he, to sit here and decree Largesses and Distributions for them, like the Grecians, where the Populace is supreme and absolute; what would it be else but to cherish and indulge their Insolence, to the Ruin of us all? For sure they will not pretend to these Liberalities, as a Reward of publick Service, which themselves know they have so often deserted; nor of those Seditions whereby they have so often betray'd their Country; or of those Slanders they have been always ready to promote against the Senate; but will rather conclude that a Bounty, which seems to have no other visible Cause, must be the Effect of our Fear and Flattery; and so expecting still farther Submissions, they will come to no end of their Disobedience, nor ever cease from Riot, Uproars and seditious Practices. To do This therefore, would be direct Madness in us. Nay, if we had the Wisdom, that becomes Men of our Order, we should go directly and demolish that Tribunicial Power of theirs, which is a plain Subversion of the Consulship, and a perpetual Ground of Division in our City, that is no longer united as heretofore, but has received such a Wound and Rupture, as is never likely to close again, and suffer us to be of a joint Body, and the same Mind; or to leave beighning our own Distempers, and being a Plague and Torment to each other. Marcius having said a great deal to this Purpose, inspired the young Senators with the same furious Sentiments, and had almost all the Rich on his side, who cry'd him up as the only Man their City had that was insuperable by Force, and above Flattery. But some of the more grave and sober opposed him, suspecting the bad Consequence of such a Proceeding, which proved accordingly; for the Tribunes that were then present, perceiving how the Proposal of Marcius took, ran out into the Crowd exclaiming, and calling on the Plebeians to stand together, and come in to their Assistance. The People therefore flocking together with great Noise and Tumult were informed of Marcius's Proposal,



Proposal, whereupon they fell into such a Rage, that they were ready to break in upon the Senate. But the Tribunes prevented that, by laying all the Blame on *Coriolanus*, whom they cited to appear before them, and give an account of his Behaviour; and when he had repulsed those Officers, with contempt, that brought him the Summons, they came presently themselves with the *Ædiles*, or Overseers of the Market, designing to carry him away by Force, and accordingly attempted to seize his Person. But the Nobility striking in to his rescue, thrust off the Tribunes, and beat the *Ædiles*, and then the Night approaching broke off the Quarrel. But as soon as it was Day, the Consuls observing the People highly exasperated, and that they ran from all Quarters, and met together in the *Forum*, were afraid for the whole City; so convening the Senate again, they desired them to advise how by good Words and milder Edicts they might pacify and compose the raging Multitude: For if they prudently considered the State of their Affairs, they must find that it was not now a time to stand upon Punctilios of Honour, and contend for Reputation; but that such a dangerous and critical Conjunction demanded gentle Methods and good-natured Counsels. The Majority of the Senate coming in to these Measures, the Consuls proceeded to intreat and soften the Minds of the People as much as possible, answering mildly to the Imputations cast upon the Senate, and mixing tender Admonitions and Reproaches to the People. And as to a Supply of the Market with Provisions, and at reasonable Rates, they said there should be no Difference at all between them. When a great part of the Commonality were grown cool, as appeared by their orderly and quiet Audience, the Tribunes stood up and declared, that since the Senate were at length pleased to submit to Reason, and act soberly with the People, They in their turn were ready to condescend to all things that were fair and equitable; but at the same time they demanded *Marcius* to give his Answer to these Particulars; First, *Whether he could*  
deny

*deny that he had incited the Senate to subvert the Government, and destroy the Authority of the People? and in the next Place, Whether when he was called to account for it, he did not disobey their Summons? and last of all, Whether by the Blows and other publick Affronts given to the Ædiles, he did not, as far as was in his Power, commence a Civil War, and stir up, and provoke the Citizens to take up Arms one against another?*

These Articles were brought on purpose either to humble *Marcus*, and make it appear he was of a mean Spirit, if contrary to his Nature he should now stoop to and court the People; or if he still kept up to the height of his Resolution (which they had greater hopes of, guessing rightly at the Man) he might incur their Displeasure to such a degree, as to make them for ever irreconcilable.

*Coriolanus* therefore appearing as it were to justify himself from the Impeachment, the People stood silent, and gave him a quiet Hearing. But when, instead of the submissive Language which was expected, he began to use not only an offensive Freedom, and the Liberty of an Accusation rather than Apology; but by his fierce tone of Voice, as well as the stern, intrepid air of his Countenance, demonstrated a Security little differing from Disdain and Contempt, the whole Multitude was incensed, and gave sufficient Indications of their Disgust and Indignation at his Discourse. Hereupon *Sicinius*, the boldest of all the Tribunes, after a little Conference with the rest of his Colleagues, pronounced before them all, *That Marcus was condemned to die by the Tribunes of the People*; and commanded the Ædiles to drag him immediately up to the *Tarpeian Rock*, and hurl him headlong from the Precipice. But when they went to seize him, the Action appeared horrible and insolent, even to many of the *Plebeian* Party. But the *Patricians* were so much affected with it, that almost out of their Wits, they cried all for Help, and surrounding *Marcus* got him among them, whilst Some made use of their Hands to keep off the Arrest, and Others stretched  
out

out Theirs in Supplication to the Multitude. But in so great a Hurry and Tumult, there was no good to be done by Words and Outcries, 'till the Friends and Acquaintance of the Tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off *Marcus* to Punishment without much Bloodshed and Slaughter of the Nobility, persuaded them to drop the unusual and odious Part of it, and not to dispatch him violently, and without the due Forms of Justice, but refer all to the general Suffrage of the People. Then *Sicinius* desisting a little, demanded of the *Patricians* what they meant by thus forcibly rescuing *Marcus* out of the Hands of the People, when they were going to inflict due Punishment on him? The Senate in reply demanded of him again, *What is your meaning, and what do you design, by thus hauling one of the worthiest Men in Rome to such a barbarous and illegal Execution, without so much as the ordinary Privilege of a free Trial?* If that be all, said *Sicinius*, it shall serve you no longer as a Pretence for your Quarrels and factious Differences with the People; they grant what you require, that the Man be judged according to Course of Law. And as for you *Marcus*, we assign you the third Session Day to make your Appearance and Defence, and try if you can satisfy the Citizens of your Innocence, who will then by Vote determine your Fate. The Noblemen were content with a Respite for that time, and returned home well satisfied, having brought off *Marcus* in Safety.

In the mean time, before the third Session (for the Romans hold their Sessions every ninth Day, which from thence are called in *Latin Nundinae*) there fell out a War with the *Antiates*, which, because it was like to be of some Continuance, gave them hopes of evading the Judgment, presuming the People would grow mild and tractable, and their Fury lessen by degrees, and languish, if not totally cease, while they were taken up with the Business of that Enterprize: But those of *Antium* having made a Peace with the Romans sooner than was expected, the Army returned home, and the *Patricians* were again

in great Perplexity, and had frequent Meetings and Consultations among themselves, the Subject of which was, how things might be so managed that they should neither desert *Marcus*, nor give occasion to Those that influenced the People to put them into new Disorders. Now *Appius Claudius*, who was most of all averse to the Popular Interest, made a solemn Declaration, and told them, *That the Senate would utterly destroy itself, and betray the Government, if they should once suffer the People to become their Judges, and assume the Authority of pronouncing capital Sentence upon any of the Patricians*: But the oldest, and most inclined to Popularity, delivered it as their Opinion, *That the People would not be too hard and severe upon them, but more kind and gentle by the Concession of such a Power*: For, said they, *they do not condemn the Senate, but are afraid of being condemned by it; and the Allowance of such a Prerogative of judging will be a Testimony of Respect, and a means of Comfort to them, so that at the Moment they receive a Liberty to vote in such Cases, they will drop their Animosities*. When *Coriolanus* saw the Senate in suspense upon his account, divided between the Kindness they had for him and their Apprehensions from the People, he desired to know of the Tribunes the Crimes they intended to charge him with, and the Heads of that Indictment they would oblige him to plead to before the People; and being told that he was to be accused of arbitrary Government, and Tyranny; *Let me go then*, said he, *to clear myself of that Imputation before them; and I promise to refuse no sort of Cognisance touching this Article, nor any Punishment whatever, if I be convicted of it; provided you keep to that alone, and do not impose upon the Senate*. When they had made him a Promise of it upon those Terms and Conditions, he submitted to his Trial.

The People being met, the first thing the Tribunes did was to obtain by Force that the Suffrages should be taken by Tribes, and not by Centuries; whereby the indigent and factious Rabble, who had no regard for Honour or Honesty, would be sure to carry it at the Poll,

against

against the more wealthy Citizens as well as against the military Men, and *Patricians*. In the next place, whereas they had engaged to prosecute *Marcus* upon no other Head but That of Tyranny (which could never be made out against him) they did wave and relinquish this Plea, and instead thereof, fell to repeat and aggravate some Words of his which had been formerly spoken in the Senate; as, that he did there oppose and dissuade an Abatement of the Price of Corn, and advised and encouraged them to resume the *Tribunitian* Power; adding further, as a new Impeachment, the Distribution that was made by him of the Spoil and Booty he had taken from the *Antiates*, when he over-run their Country, which upon his own head he had divided among Those that were readiest to follow him; whereas it ought rather to have been brought into the publick Store-house, and disposed of by Authority of the Senate for the common Interest; which last Accusation did, they say, more surprise and discompose *Marcus* than all the rest, as not expecting he should ever be questioned upon that Subject, and therefore less provided to give a plausible and satisfactory Answer to it on the sudden; but when, by way of excuse, he began to magnify the Merits of Those who had been Partakers with him in the Action, Such as staid at home being more numerous than the Other, and not enduring to hear Them commended, did so disturb him by the noise they made, that he could not proceed upon that Argument. In conclusion, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a Majority of three entire Tribes, out of one and twenty, and the Penalty to which they adjudged him, was perpetual Banishment. After Declaration of the Sentence, the People went away with greater Joy, Transport and Triumph than they had ever shewn for any Victory against their Enemies: But the Senate was all in Heaviness, and a deep Dejection; repenting now and vex'd, that they had not done and suffered any thing rather than given way to the People's Insolence, and let Them assume so great Authority. There was no need then to look upon their Habit, or other



Marks of Distinction, to discern a Senator from any vulgar Citizen, for it soon appeared that the Brisk and Gay were all *Plebeians*; and you might know a Nobleman by his sad Countenance: only *Marcus* seemed not shock'd or humbled in the least at his Misfortune, appearing still in his Gesture, Motion and Aspect, the same steady Man, and among all Others of his Rank, that were so deeply touch'd, Alone unaffected with it. But this Insensibility was not owing to Reason or a Sweetness of Temper, much less to his Patience and Moderation; It was because he was then full of Rancor and Indignation. And tho' the Generality of Mankind are not sensible of it, this is ever the State of a Mind sunk in Grief. That Passion, when in the height, swells and inflames the Mind, and, turning to a sort of Madness, banisheth all Weakness and Dejection. Hence likewise it is that an angry Man seems courageous, as One in a Fever seems to be afire, the Soul being all in Motion, and as it were, all boiling over. Now such was *Marcus's* Case, as he made appear immediately by his following Actions; for upon his return home, he embraces his Mother and Wife, who were all in Tears; and taking his Leave of them he exhorted them to bear their Afflictions patiently. This done, he hasten'd to One of the City Gates, whither all the Nobility attended him; and there, without so much as taking any thing with him, or asking one Question, he left them, accompanied with only three or four of his Clients. He continued solitary for a few Days in some of his Villas near *Rome*, distracted with variety of Thoughts, such as Rage and Indignation suggested; in which he proposed not any honourable End or Advantage to Himself, but only how to satisfy his Revenge upon the *Romans*; for which Purpose, at last, he resolv'd to raise a heavy War against them.

In order hereunto, his Business was in the first place to make trial of the *Volsicians*, whom he knew to be still vigorous and flourishing enough both in Strength and Treasure, and did imagine their Force and Power was not so much abated, as their Spite and wrathful Pertinacity was increased, by the late Overthrows they had received

received from the *Romans*. Now there was a Man of *Antium*, called *Tullus Aufidius*, who, for his Wealth and Prowess, and the Splendor of his Family, had the Respect and Privilege of a King among all the *Volscians*, but One whom *Marcius* knew to have a particular Pique and an inveterate Malice against him above any *Roman* whatsoever; for there having frequent Menaces and Challenges pass'd between them as they met together in the Field, and by often defying each other through a Competition of their Valour (as the Strife and Emulation of youthful Spirits do usually prompt them to such Braveries) they had, besides the common Quarrel of their Country, conceiv'd a mutual Enmity and private Hatred to each other; but for all this, considering the great Generosity of *Tullus*, and that none of the *Volscians* did so much desire an occasion to return back upon the *Romans* some part of the Evils they had done them, he ventured at a thing which mightily confirms that Saying of the Poet;

*Hard with Anger is the Strife,  
Which Pleasure purchases with Life.*

For putting on such Clothes and Habiliments, by which he might appear most unlike the Person he was, to All that should see him in that Equipage, as *Homer* says of *Ulysses*,

*He stole into the hostile Town. —*

His Arrival at *Antium* was about Evening; and tho' Several met him in the Street, yet he pass'd along without being known to Any, and went directly on to the House of *Tullus*; where stealing in undiscovered, he presently made up to the Fire-hearth (a Place that was sacred to their *Lares*) and seated himself there, without speaking a Word, or using any Motion, after he had covered his Head to prevent observance. Those of the Family could not choose but wonder at the Man's Confidence,

dence, and yet they were afraid either to raise or question him, (for there was a certain Air of Majesty about him, which shew'd itself both in his Posture and his Silence); but they recounted the strangeness of this Accident to Tullus, who was at Supper, and immediately rose from Table, and coming to Coriolanus, ask'd him, *Who he was, and for what Business he came thither?* Whereupon Marcius unmuffling himself, and pausing a while, *If,* says he, *thou canst not yet call me to mind, Tullus, if thou dost not believe thy own Eyes concerning me, I must of necessity be my own Accuser; Know therefore that I am Caius Marcius, the Author of so much Mischief to the Volscians, which if I should offer to deny, the Surname of Coriolanus I now bear would be a sufficient Evidence against me; for I have no other Recompence to boast of for all the Hardships and Perils I have gone through during the Wars between us, but a Title that proclaims my Enmity to your Nation, and This is the only thing which is still left me; as for other Advantages, I have been stripped and deprived of them All at once by the Envy and Outrage of the Roman People, and through the Cowardise and Treachery of the Magistrates, and Those of my own Order; so that I am driven out as an Exile, and become an humble Suppliant before thy household Gods, not so much for Safety and Protection, (for what should make me come hither, had I been afraid to die?) as to seek and procure Vengeance against Those that have expelled me from my Country; which, methinks, I have already obtain'd, by putting myself into thy Hands: If thou hast a mind to attack thy Enemies, come on, Tullus, reap the Benefit of my Miseries, and make my Personal Calamities become a National Benefit to the Volsci. I shall do so much more Service in fighting for, than against you, as They can manage the War better, who are privy to, than Such as are unacquainted with the Secrets of the Enemy. If thou art averse to the War, I am so too; neither is it fit for Me to live, or Thee to preserve a Person who has been always thy Enemy, and now when he would be thy Friend proves useless and unserviceable.*

Tullus

Tullius was highly delighted at this Discourse, and giving him his Right Hand, *Rise*, says he, Marcius, and take Courage. *The Present you thus make of yourself is inestimable, and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful.*

When he had said This he took him instantly with him to the Table, where he entertained him with great Kindness and Hospitality. The next and the following Days they entered into close Debate upon the Means of renewing the War, and carrying it on with Vigour and Success.

While this Design was forming, there were great Troubles and Commotions at Rome, from the Animosity of the Senators against the People, which came to be heightened by the late Condemnation of Marcius; beside their Southsayers and Priests, and even private Persons, brought in fearful Accounts of Signs and Prodigies, that were very much to be regarded, One whereof I shall mention here, which they report happened in this manner: Titus Latinus, one of ordinary Condition, but yet a sober and virtuous Man, free from all *superstitious Fancies*, on one hand, and much more from *Vanity and Boasting* on the other, had an *Apparition* in his Sleep, as if *Jupiter* came within view, and bid him tell the Senate, *That at the Games they had been celebrating to his Honour they had caused the Procession to be conducted by an ill-favoured Leader, which had much dishonoured him.* At first he did not much mind this Vision, but having seen and slighted it a second and third time, he then saw the most hopeful Son he had expire before his Eyes; and his own Body was so struck and loosen'd on a sudden, that Himself became utterly impotent. These things he related, being at his Desire brought into the Senate on a Couch: The Story goes that he had no sooner delivered his Message, but he felt his Strength and Vigour return, so that he got upon his Legs, and went home without any Assistance. The Senators being surpris'd at it, made a strict enquiry into the Matter; which proved to be This. A certain Person had given up a Servant of His

to the rest of his Fellows, with Charge first to whip him through the Market, and then to kill him. While they were executing this Command, and scourging the Fellow, that screw'd himself into all manner of Postures, and disagreeable Shapes, through the Torture he was in, a solemn Procession in Honour of *Jupiter* chanced to follow at their Heels. Several of the Assistants were very much scandaliz'd at such a Sight, the horrible Sufferings and the indecent Postures of that Wretch being equally offensive to the Spectators, and detested by them; yet no Body would interpose, or call the Actors to account for it, they only spent some Reproaches and Curses on the Master, who was so bitter and barbarous in his Inflictions: For the *Romans* treated their Servants with much Humanity in those days, because they did then work and labour themselves and live together among them, and so were apt to be more gentle and familiar with their own Domesticks; for it was one of the greatest Penances for a Servant, who had highly misdemeaned himself, to take up that piece of Wood upon his Shoulders wherewith they supported the Thill of a Waggon, and carry it round about through the Neighbourhood; and He that had once undergone the shame of This, and was seen by Those of the Household, and other Inhabitants of the Place, with that infamous Burden on his Back, had no longer any Trust or Credit among them, but was stiled *Furcifer*, by way of Ignominy and Reproach; for what the *Greeks* in their Language call *Hypostates*, i. e. a Prop or Supporter, is by the *Latins* termed *Furca*, from the forked figure of that rustical Instrument.

When therefore *Latinus* had informed them of this Apparition, and All were guessing who this ill-favoured Leader should be; Some of the Company having been affected with the Strangeness of this Punishment, remembered the Slave that was lash'd through the Market, and afterwards put to Death. The Priests unanimously agreed, that this must be the thing; so the Master had a heavy Fine laid upon him, and they begun the Games



anew with more Magnificence, and with the utmost Devotion.

Hence it appears that *Numa* was both in other respects a wise Author of what belongs to religious Offices, and that this in particular was an excellent Institution of his, to make the People attentive to them; for when the Magistrates or Priests perform any Divine Worship, a Crier goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc Age*; which signifies, *Mind what you are about*; and so warns them carefully to attend to whatever sacred Action they are engaged in, and not to suffer any other Business or worldly Avocation to intervene and disturb the Exercise, well knowing that most of Mens Actions, especially Those that relate to the Worship of the Gods, are not perform'd without a sort of Violence and Constraint, and that every Thing belonging thereto would relax unless supported by Necessity.

Now it was customary for the *Romans* to begin afresh their Sacrifices, Processions and Spectacles, not only on such an important Cause as This, but for the most frivolous Reasons; as when one of the Horses which drew the Chariots called *Tensæ*, in which the Images of their Gods were placed, happened to stumble, or if the Coachman took hold of the Reins with his left Hand, they passed a Vote that the whole Office should begin anew; and in the latter Ages one and the same Sacrifice was performed thirty times over, because there seemed always to be some Defect, or Mistake, or offensive Accident in it. So great was the Reverence which the *Romans* paid to the Deity.

In the mean time *Marcus* and *Tullus* laid their Project before the chief Men of *Antium*, advising them to invade the *Romans* while they were at Variance among themselves, and embroil'd in Civil Contests and Dissensions. The Respects of Shame and Decency hinder'd them at first from embracing the Motion, because they had agreed and sworn to a Truce and Cessation of Arms for the space of two Years; but the *Romans* themselves soon furnished them with a Pretence, by making Proclamation

clamation (out of an ill-grounded Jealousy and slanderous Report) in the midst of their Shows and Exercises, that all the *Volsicians* who came thither to see them, should depart the City before Sun-set. There are Some who affirm that all this was a Contrivance and Trick of *Marcus*, who sent one privately to the Consuls falsely to accuse the *Volsicians*, as if they intended to fall upon the *Romans* during their publick Sports, and fire the City. This Affront provoked all that Nation to greater Hostility than ever against the *Romans*. *Tullus* aggravated the Fact, and so exasperated the People, that at last he persuaded them to dispatch Ambassadors to *Rome*, to demand that part of their Country, and those Towns, that had been taken from them in the late War. The *Romans* received this Message with Indignation, and reply'd, *That if the Volsici took up Arms first, the Romans should be the last that would lay them down.* Upon This, *Tullus* called a General Assembly of the *Volsician* States, where the Vote passing for War, he advised them to send for *Marcus*, laying aside all former Grudges, and assuring themselves that the Service they should now receive from him, as an Ally, would exceed the Damage he had done them when their Enemy. *Marcus* was called, and having made an Oration to the People, it appeared he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in Prudence as well as Courage. So he was immediately joined in Commission with *Tullus*. *Marcus* fearing lest the time requisite for the *Volsician* Preparations might make him lose the Opportunity of Action, left Orders with the chief Men and Governors of the City to assemble the Troops, and provide the other Necessaries, while Himself prevailed upon Some of the most brisk and forward to march out with him as Volunteers, without staying to be inroll'd, and made a sudden Incurſion into the *Roman* Territories, when no Body expected them, and got there such plenty of Plunder that the *Volsici* were tired with dragging and carrying it off, and could not consume it all in their Camp. But the abundance of Provision which he gained, and the waste and havock

which

which he made of the Country, were in his account the smallest things in that Invasion. What he chiefly intended by it, and for the sake whereof he did all the rest, was to increase the Peoples Suspicions against the Nobles. To which end, in spoiling all the Fields, and destroying the Goods of other Men, he took particular Care to preserve their Lands, and would not allow his Soldiers to ravage there, or seize any thing which belonged to them; from whence their Investives and Quarrels with one another grew higher than ever. The Senators reproached the Commonalty for unjustly banishing so considerable a Person; and the People on the other hand accusing them of bringing *Coriolanus* upon them, to the end that whilst They felt all the Calamities of War, had their Houses burnt, and Estates plundered, the Nobility might sit like unconcerned Spectators under the Confidence and Assurance that the War itself would be the Guardian of Their Lands and Substance. After this Expedition, which was of singular Advantage to the *Volsi*, in teaching them Courage, and Contempt of the Enemy, *Marcus* led them safe home, without the loss of a Man. But when the whole Strength of the *Volsians* was with great Expedition and Alacrity brought together into the Field, it appeared so considerable a Body, that they agreed to leave part thereof in Garrison for the Security of their Towns, and with the Remainder to march against the *Romans*: *Coriolanus* then desired *Tullus* to consider, which of the two Charges would be most agreeable to him, and that he would choose accordingly; to which *Tullus* made answer, *That since he knew Marcus to be equally valiant with himself, but far more fortunate in all Engagements, he would have Him take the Command of Those that were going out to the War, while He made it his Care and Business to defend their Cities at home, and provide all Conveniences for the Army abroad.* *Marcus* therefore being thus reinforced, and much stronger than before, moved first towards the City called *Circæum*, a *Roman* Colony; which surrendering at Discretion was secured from Plunder.

der. And passing thence, he entered and laid waste the Country of the *Latins*, where it was expected the *Romans* would have come in to their assistance, and fought against him in behalf of the *Latins*, who were their Confederates and Allies, and had often sent to demand Succours from them; but because as well the People on Their part shewed little inclination for the Service, and the *Consuls* Themselves were unwilling now to run the hazard of a Battle, when the time of their Office drew so near its end, and was almost ready to expire, they dismissed the *Latin* Ambassadors without any Effect: So that *Marcus* finding no Army to oppose him, marched up to the very Cities themselves, and having taken by Assault *Tolerium*, *Labicum*, *Pedum*, and *Bola*, whose Inhabitants had the Courage to make some Resistance, he not only plundered their Houses, but made a Prey likewise of their Persons. At the same time he had a particular regard for All such as came over to his Party; and was so tender of them, that for fear they might sustain any damage against his Will, he encamped still at the greatest distance he could, and wholly abstained from the Lands of their Propriety. After This he went and sat down before *Boillæ*, (1) which

(1) *Βοίλλαι*. was distant about twelve Miles from *Dion*. *Rome*, where he met with a more vigorous

Opposition than he had done before, and where many of the *Volscians* were slain; however he took it in the end, put all to the Sword that were of Age to carry Arms, and got much Plunder. The other *Volscians* that were ordered to stay behind as a Safe-guard to their Cities, hearing of their Achievements and Successes, had not the patience to remain any longer at home, but came running with their Arms, to *Marcus*, and saying, That He alone was their General, and the sole Person they would own as a Commander in chief over them. Upon which he had a mighty Name, and the Renown of him spread throughout all *Italy*, with a marvellous Opinion of his singular Prowess; who by changing Sides, had Himself alone given that sudden turn to the Affairs

of

of two Nations, and made such a strange and notable Alteration in the state of things.

All was at *Rome* now in very great disorder, for they were utterly averse from Fighting, and spent their whole time in Cabals, and Conspiracies, seditious Words, and perpetual Bandyings against each other ; until News was brought that the Enemy had laid close Siege to *Lavinium*, wherein were the Gods of their Fathers, and from whence they did derive their Original, That being the first City which *Aeneas* built in *Italy*. The News of this Siege being soon spread over the whole City, produced a strange and sudden turn of mind among the People, but a very absurd and unexpected Change among the Patricians. For the former urged a repeal of the Sentence against *Marcius*, and were for recalling him home ; whereas the Senate, being assembled to deliberate and resolve upon that point, did finally dislike and oppose the Proposition ; either out of a cross Humour, to contradict and withstand the People in whatsoever they should move, or because they were unwilling perhaps, that he should owe his Restoration to their Kindness ; or having now conceived a displeasure against *Marcius* himself, who did harass and plague them All alike, though he had not been ill treated by All, and was become a declared Enemy to his whole Country, though he knew well enough that the principal Men, and all the better sort, did condole with him, and suffer in his Injuries.

This Resolution of Theirs being made publick, the People was utterly at a loss, and could proceed no further, as having no Authority to pass any thing by Suffrage, and enact it for a Law, without a previous Decree from the Senate. But when *Marcius* came to hear of that Vote for prohibiting his Return, he was more exasperated than ever, insomuch that quitting the Siege of *Lavinium*, he marched furiously towards *Rome*, and encamped at a place called *Fossa Clælia*, about five miles from the City : but as the nearness of his Approach was terrible, and did create much trouble and disturbance, so likewise



likewise did it surcease their Animosities and Diffensions for the present ; for no body now, whether Consul or Senator, durst any longer contradict the People in their design of recalling *Marcus* ; but seeing the Women run frighted up and down the Streets, and the old Men at Prayers in every Temple with Tears and earnest Supplications ; and that, in short, there was a general defect among them both of Courage and Wisdom, to provide for their own Safety, they came at last to be all of one Mind, that the People had been very much in the right, to propose and endeavour, as they did, a Reconciliation with *Marcus* ; but that the Senate was extremely out, and guilty of a fatal Error, then to begin a quarrell with and provoke *Marcus*, when it was a time to forget Offences, and they should have studied rather to appease him. It was therefore unanimously agreed by all Parties, that Ambassadors should be dispatched away, offering to recall him, and desiring he would free them from the Apprehensions and the Straits of that War. The Persons sent by the Senate with this Message, were chosen out of his Kindred and Acquaintance, who did therefore expect a very kind Reception at their first Interview and Audience, upon the score of that Relation, and their Familiarity and Friendship with him ; but it prov'd quite otherwise ; for being led through the Enemy's Camp, they found him sitting in Council amidst a crowd of Officers : with insupportable Arrogance, and fullen Gravity, he bid them openly declare, in the Presence of the *Volsians*, the Cause of their coming ; which they did in the most modest and humble terms, and in a Behaviour suitable to the Occasion. When they had made an end of speaking, he returned them a sharp Answer, full of Bitterness and angry Resentments, as to what concerned Himself, and the ill Usage he had received from them ; but as General of the *Volsians*, he demanded Restitution of the Cities and the Lands they had taken from them during the late War, and that the same Rights and Franchises should be granted Them at Rome, which they had before accorded to the Latins ; without which

which just and reasonable Conditions, no Peace was to be obtained. He allowed them thirty days to consider of his Demands; and when they were retired, he raised his Camp, and departed out of the Roman Territories. This Proceeding gave Some of the *Volsicians*, who had long envied his Reputation, and could not endure to see the Interest and Sway he had with that People, the first handle to calumniate and reproach him. Among his chief Maligners was even *Tullus* Himself, not for any personal Offence or private Injury, but out of human Passion, and a Vice so incident to Mankind: he felt an inward Pique, to find his own Glory thus totally obscur'd by That of *Marcius*, and Himself overlook'd and neglected now by the *Volsicians*, who had so great an Opinion and Esteem of their new Leader, that He alone was instead of All to them, and they would have other Captains be content with that share of Government and Power which He should think fit to vouchsafe them. From hence the first Seeds of Complaint and Accusation were scattered about in secret, and the Heads of that Conspiracy assembling together, did help to raise and heighten each other's Indignation, saying, that to retreat as he did, was in effect to betray and deliver up, though not their Cities and their Arms, yet the proper Times and Opportunities for Action, which is a damage of no smaller consequence than the Other; inasmuch as the Preservation or the Loss of all These, and every thing else, does naturally depend on Them; seeing in less than thirty days space, for which he had given a respite from the War, there might happen the greatest changes in the World. However, *Marcius* spent not any part of the time idly, but did attack and damnify the Confederates of the Enemy, yea, and took from them seven great and populous Cities in that Interval. The *Romans* in the mean-while durst not venture out to their relief; their Spirits were grown dull and unactive thro' Fear, so that they felt no more Disposition or Capacity for the Affairs of War, than if their Bodies too had been struck and benumb'd with a dead Palsy, and so

become utterly destitute of Sense and Motion. When the thirty Days were expired, and *Marcus* appeared again with his whole Army, they sent another Embassy, to beseech him that he would moderate his Displeasure, and marching off with the *Volsians*, consider what was fit to be done, and propose That which he judged most agreeable to the Interest of both Parties, remembring always that the *Romans* were not Men to be wrought upon by Menaces, or that would yield any thing out of Fear; but if it were his Opinion, that the *Volsians* ought to have some Favour shewn them, upon laying down their Arms, they might obtain All they could in reason desire, and fairly pretend to.

The Reply of *Marcus* was, That he should answer nothing thereto as General of the *Volsians*, but in quality still of a *Roman* Citizen, he would advise and exhort them, as the case stood, not to carry it so high, but think rather of a just Compliance, and return to him before three days were at an end, with a Ratification of those equal Demands he had formerly made, and did insist upon; for otherwise they should not have the same freedom and security of passing through his Camp again upon such idle Errands, and impertinent and fruitless Treaties. When the Ambassadors were come back, and had acquainted the Senate with this resolute Answer, seeing the whole State now threatened as it were by a Tempest, and the Waves ready to overwhelm them, they were forced, as we say, in extreme Perils, to handle and let down the Sacred Anchor; for there was a Decree made, that the whole Order of their Priests, with such as did initiate in Mysteries, or had the Care and Custody of Holy Things, or the Skill of Propheying by Birds, (an ancient way of Divination among the *Romans*) should All and every one of them go in full Procession to *Marcus* with their Pontifical Array, and the same Dress and Habit which they respectively us'd in their several Functions or Religious Ceremonies; which venerable Orators were to conjure him; that upon Their instance at least, he would be persuaded to surcease the War,

War, and then confer with his Countrymen upon the Articles of Peace. He admitted them into his Camp, but granted nothing at all out of Respect and Complaisance for them, nor did he so much as behave or express himself with more civility or smoothness upon their account ; but without capitulating further, or receding from his main point, bid them *once for all choose whether they would yield or fight, for the Old terms were the Only terms of Peace.* When there was no better effect of such a solemn Application, (the Priests too returning unsuccessful) they determined to sit still within their City, and keep watch about the Walls ; intending only to repulse the Enemy, should he offer to attack them, and placing their Hopes chiefly in the strange and extraordinary Accidents of Time and Fortune. For as to Themselves, they had neither the Wit to contrive, nor the Courage to undertake ought for their own deliverance ; but Confusion, and Terror, and ill-boding Reports run through the whole City. During these Transactions, Something happen'd not unlike what we so often meet with in *Homer*, (which however most People will hardly believe) for when he upon great occasions, and some rare and unusual Events, does affirm and exclaim in this manner,

*Pallas, the blue-ey'd Goddess, then inspir'd him——*

And again,

*I thought ; but some kind God that Thought suppress'd,  
Presenting vulgar Rumours to my Breast.*

And thus,

*Whether his own Free-will, or Fate's decree.*

Ignorant Men are ready here to despise and censure the Poet, as if he destroyed the freedom of Choice, and subjected Mens Reason to such Impossibilities, and absurd Fictions. Whereas *Homer* doth nothing like it ; for what is probable, and usual, and brought about by the ordinary way of Reason, he attributes to our

own power, and management, and frequently says to this effect.

*But I consulted with my own great Soul.*

And in another place,

*Achilles beard, with grief and rage oppress'd,  
His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast,  
Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,  
Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd.*

And again,

*But she in vain  
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble Youth  
Was arm'd with Wisdom, Constancy, and Truth.*

But in such things and actions as are unaccountably daring, and of a prodigious and transcendent kind, and therefore need some touches of *Enthusiasm* and *Divine Hardiness*, that may investigate and carry us thereto: Here, I say, he does introduce a God, not as taking away the liberty of our Will, but as moving it to act freely; neither as working in us the Inclinations and Pursuits themselves, but as offering those *Ideas* and *Objects* to our Minds, from whence the Impulse is conceiv'd, and the Resolution taken; by which Representments however, he makes not the Deed involuntary, but only gives a beginning to spontaneous Operations, and superadds Confidence and good Hope to what is thus willingly undertaken: For we must either totally discharge and remove the Gods from all Impulse in what we do, and Influence on our Affairs, or be forced to confess that there is no other way of Insinuation besides This whereby they do secretly assist Men, and cooperate with them; for sure the help which they afford us, cannot be imagined to consist in fashioning the Postures of our Body, or directing the Motions of our Hands and Feet, so as they may be serviceable to us for the use of Life, but in exciting the practical part, and the elective powers of our



our Soul by initial Overtures, and certain Images and Instincts from Above; or else, on the contrary, in a sudden aversion or seasonable restraint of them from other things, and That also by hints and apprehensions of their sending.

Now in this perplexity of Affairs, which I before mentioned, the Roman Women went Some of them to other Temples, but the greater part, and the Ladies of best Quality, were performing their Devotion about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*: Among These was *Valeria*, Sister to the great *Publicola*, a Person who had done the Romans that eminent Service both in Peace and War: *Publicola* himself was now deceas'd, (as I have written in the History of his Life) but *Valeria* liv'd still with a mighty Reputation and Esteem at Rome, as One whose Birth received an additional Lustre from her Virtue, She therefore being suddenly seiz'd with an Instinct or emotion of Mind, not unlike Those I but now spoke of, and happily lighting (not without Divine Guidance) on the right Expedient, both arose Herself, and caus'd the rest of the Votaries to get up, and made directly with them toward the House of *Volumnia*, the Mother of *Marcius*: When she came in, and found her sitting with her Daughter-in-law, and having her little Grandchildren on her Lap, *Valeria*, surrounded by her Female Companions, spoke in the name of them All to this purpose.

*We that now make our appearance, O Volumnia, and Vergilia, approach as Women unto Women; being come hither not by direction of the Senate, or an order from the Consuls, or the appointment of any other Magistrate; but God himself, as I conceive, moved first to compassion by our Prayers, has consequently moved Us to visit you in a Body, and request a thing wherein our Own and the common Safety is concerned, and which, if You consent to it, will raise your Glory above That of the Daughters of the Sabines, who rushing thro' the Battle in Defiance of Death, did reduce their Fathers and their Husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship. Come along then, and join with*

us in our supplication to Marcius, and do your Country the right of giving him this true and just testimony on her behalf; that notwithstanding the many mischiefs and calamities she has suffered, yet she did never outrage Your Persons, nor could so much as think of treating you ill, in the midst of all her Resentments, but does now restore and present You safe into his hands, though there is small likelihood she should obtain from Him any better terms for Herself, or the least favourable and gentle usage on that account.

This Discourse of *Valeria* was seconded by loud Approbations and Incentives of the other Women; to which *Volumnia* made answer.

Besides the common Calamities of our Country, in which we bear an equal share with You, we are touched with domestick Afflictions, which are peculiar to Ourselves; for with our own Eyes have we beheld the Downfall of our *Coriolanus's* Fame and Virtue, since he is at present surrounded by the Arms of the Enemies of his Country, not as their Prisoner but Commander. Add to This, the greatest and most sensible of all our Miseries, if the Affairs of Rome are in so low and desperate a Condition, as to have its last Dependence on two weak insignificant Women. For how can We hope he will shew any Respect to Us, when he has lost all the Regard due to his Country, which was once dearer to him than his Mother, his Wife, his Children. But make what use of us you please, and lead us to *Coriolanus*. Should he be deaf to our Prayers, we can at least die for our Country, which we have not interest enough in Him to redeem, and spend our latest Breath in making Suit at his Feet for its Deliverance.

Having spoken thus, she took *Vergilia* by the Hand, and the young Children, and so accompanied those other Ladies to the *Volscian* Camp. So lamentable a Sight did very much affect the Enemies Themselves, and create in them a respectful Silence. *Marcius* was then seated on a Tribunal, with his chief Officers about him, and seeing that Female Party advance toward them, he wondered what should be the matter; but came to perceive at length that his own Wife *Vergilia* was at the Head of their

their Company ; whereupon he endeavoured to harden himself in his former Obstinacy, and would fain have kept up the same inexorable Stiffness against all intreaties ; but overcome by Affection, and strangely disorder'd at such an Appearance, he could not endure they should approach him sitting in that stately Posture, but came down hastily to meet them, saluting his Mother first, and embracing her a long time, and then his Wife and Children, sparing neither Tears nor Caresses on this occasion, but suffering himself to be born away, and carried headlong, as it were, by the impetuous Torrent and the pleasing Violence of his present Passion. When he had taken his fill of these Sweetnesses and Indearments, and observ'd that his Mother *Volumnia* was desirous to say something, the *Volscian* Council being first called in, he heard her Discourse before them to this effect : *You may easily conjecture, Son, though we should say nothing ourselves, and might conclude from the very form and habit of these wretched Bodies you behold here, in how forlorn a condition we have lived at home since your unhappy Banishment and Absence from us ; and now consider with yourself, whether we are not to pass for the most unfortunate of Women, and if Ours be not the hardest of all Cases ; seeing That which ought to prove the most delightful thing, and a very gladfom Spectacle, is, through I know not what Fatality, become of all Others the most formidable and dreadful to us, when poor Volumnia has the Displeasure to see her Son, and that sad Vergilia the Regret to find her Husband, now planting his Batteries against the Walls of Rome ! Yea even the business of Prayer itself, from whence Others do fetch Comfort and Relief in all manner of Misfortunes and Distresses, is That which adds to our Confusion, and does intangle and perplex us above all the rest ; for our best wishes are grown inconsistent with themselves, nor can we at the same time petition the Gods for Rome's Victory, and Your Preservation : What the worst of our Enemies would imprecate as a Curse, That is the very Subject of our Vows, or at least is interwoven and mingled with them ;*  
for

for your Wife and Children lie under the woful necessity, either of losing You, or their Native Soil. As for myself, I am resolv'd not to live 'till Fortune shall put an end to the War, and determine between the contending Parties. If I cannot prevail with you to prefer Amity and Concord before Quarrelling and hostile Practices, and shall not persuade my Son Marcus to become a Benefactor to both Parties, rather than a Plague to Either, be assured of This from Me, and reckon stedfastly upon it, that you shall not be able to stir a foot towards treading down your Country, unless you trample first upon the dead Corps of Her that brought you into the World, and who will deserve to be so treated for having given you Life. Shall I live to see the day of Triumph for my Son's Overtbrow, or Rome's Destruction? If I desired You to build the Safety of your Country upon the Ruins of the Volscians; there I confess the Case would be hard, and the Choice difficult: for as it seems unnatural and barbarous to slaughter our Fellow-Citizens, so likewise it is unjust and perfidious to betray Those who have placed their Confidence in us. But now, without doing the least harm to Others, we desire only a Deliverance from our Own Evils! and though the thing be equally expedient for Them and Us, yet will it look more handsom and honourable on the Volscian side, who having so much the better of us at present, will be thought freely to bestow the two greatest Blessings of Peace and Friendship, even when they receive no less at Our hands than is conferred by Them. If we obtain these Blessings, the common Thanks and Acknowledgment will be chiefly owing to You, as the principal Cause of such a Reconciliation between us; but if they be not granted, You alone must expect to bear the blame from both Nations. And when the chance of all War is uncertain, This will be the certain Event of that You are engaged in; if you conquer, you will only get the Reputation of having undone your Country; if conquered, the World will say, that to satisfy a revengeful Humour, you have been the Author of the greatest Misery to your Friends and Patrons, and procured the Overtbrow even of a kind and obliging People,

Marcus

*Marcius* listened to his Mother, while she went on with her Discourse, and answer'd not a word; but *Volturnia* seeing him stand mute for a long time after she had left speaking, fell again to press him: *O my Son,* says she, *why will you not vouchsafe to answer me, or what can be the meaning of this profound Silence? Does it become you thus to comply with Passion, and yield all things to a sense of Injuries? And will you not think it fit to gratify your Mother in so worthy a Cause? Can it pass for the property of a noble Mind and a gallant Person, to preserve the memory of Affronts and ill Usage: And shall we not reckon it the Character and Business of a great and good Man to remember Benefits, and own the Obligation which Children receive from Parents, by a return of Honour and Reverence to the Authors of them? But You, above all Persons in the World, ought to shew a very grateful Resentment of the Favours which have been done you, since no body living did ever punish Ingratitude, and persecute that Vice in Others, with so much severity as yourself; and to say the truth, you have been sufficiently avenged of your Country, for requiting your Services so ill; but the amends of all Mine towards you is behind still, and I wait now for the Recompence of a Mother's Care and Kindness; the most Sacred Ties both of Nature and Religion, without any other constraint, should methinks oblige you to grant me things that are so fair and equal; but if, after All, I am so unhappy as to be denied, why should I spare myself any longer, and to what purpose do I spin out my last hope? Having said this, she threw herself at his Feet, and so did his Wife and Children; upon which *Marcius* crying out, *O Mother! what is it you have done to me, and to what am I reduced by it?* rais'd her up from the Ground, and pressing her hand with more than ordinary vehemence, *You have gained a Victory,* says he, *over me, that is fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to myself, for I am preparing to depart hence, as driven away and vanquished by You only. After which, and a little private Conference with his Mother and**



his Wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired of him.

The next morning he discamped and led the *Volsicians* homeward, who were variously affected with what was done, nor did they All testify a like Concern at it ; for Some of them did both complain of the Man, and condemn the Action ; while Others, inclining to Reconciliation and a peaceable Composure of things, did blame Neither ; and there was a third sort, which very much disliked his Proceedings ; yet they could not look upon *Marcus* as a treacherous Person, but thought it pardonable in him to be thus shaken and broke, and forced to surrender at last, through the stress and pressure of so many violent assaults and redoubled applications ; however None were so hardy as to contradict his orders, but they did all obediently follow him, mov'd rather by the admiration of his Virtue, than any Regard they had now to his Authority. As for the *Roman* People, they did not so effectually discover how much Fear and Danger they were in while the War lasted, as they did by the manner of their deportment after they were freed from it ; for Those that guarded the Walls had no sooner given notice that the *Volsicians* were dislodged and drawn off, but they set open all their Temples in a moment, and began to crown themselves with Flowers, and prepare for Sacrifice ; as they were wont to do upon Tidings brought of any signal Victory : But the Joy and Transport of the whole City became chiefly remarkable from that Honour and Courtship of the Women, which was jointly paid them as well by the Senate as the Vulgar, every one declaring it his opinion, that they were evidently the Causes and Instruments of their Publick Safety ; and the Senate having pass'd a Decree, that whatsoever they would ask by way of Recompence, as a Memorial and Acknowledgment of their Fame and Merit, should be allowed and done for them by the Magistrates ; they demanded nothing else but that a Temple might be erected to the Fortune of Women, all the Expence whereof they did offer to defray out of their own Stock, if the

City

City would be at the cost of Sacrifices, and furnish them with other things which appertain to the due Honour of the Gods, out of their common Treasury. The Senate then, very much commending the Forwardness and Bounty of their Minds, caus'd the Temple to be built, and a Statue to be set up therein at the publick Charge; nevertheless they would needs make a Purse among Themselves for another Image of Fortune, which, as the *Romans* say, at the time of Dedication and placing of it, pronounced these Words, *O ye Ladies, most acceptable to the Gods is your Piety and Devotion in the Present you have made of me.* And they fabulously report that the same Words were repeated a second time; endeavouring to make us believe things that were never done, and so like Impossibilities, that it is very hard to credit them. For I think it possible enough, that Statues may both Sweat and run with Tears, yea, and discharge certain dewy drops of a sanguine Dye; for Timber and Stones are frequently seen to contract a kind of Scurf and Rottenness, that produce moisture; and they do not only send forth many different Colours of Themselves, but receive variety of Tinctures from the ambient Air: by which it is not absurd to imagine that the Deity may advertise and forwarn us of what is to come. It may happen also, that these Images and Statues shall sometimes make a noise not unlike that of a Sigh or Groan, through a rupture at the bottom, or the violent separation of their inward Parts; but that an articulate Voice, and express Words, should be thus formed by inanimate Beings, is, in my judgment, a thing utterly unfeasible; seeing it was never known, that either the Soul of Man, or even God Himself, did utter vocal Sounds, and discourse alone, without an organized Body and Parts fitted for Utterance. But where History does in a manner force our Assent by the Concurrence of many credible Witnesses, in this Case we are to conclude, that an Impression not unlike That which does affect Sense, falling then upon the Fancy, draws in the Imaginative Part to comply therewith, and take it for a true Sen-

Sensation: just as it happens to us when we are fast asleep, our Eyes and Ears seem to be entertained with those things which we neither See nor Hear. As for those Persons, who out of good-will towards God, and their friendly Inclination for him, and a great Tenderness as to all religious Matters, are so over-sond and passionate herein, that they cannot easily persuade themselves to despise or reject any thing of this kind, they have the admirable Efficiency of Divine Power (which surpasses our Comprehension) as a mighty Motive and Support to the belief thereof. For God has no manner of Resemblance, either as to his Nature, Operations, or Efficacy, with what is human, and therefore it is no wonder at all if he should devise and perform That, which cannot be contrived or accomplished by any Mortal: and though he differs from, and does infinitely excel us in all things else, yet the dissimilitude and distance betwixt Him and Men, appears no where so much, as in the Prodigiousness of his working, and the strange Effects of his Omnipotence: however a considerable part of the Divine Operations (as *Heraclitus* affirms) *passeth by unobserved, and escapes our Knowledge, because we are Infidels in the Point, and have not Faith enough to believe them.*

Upon the Return of *Marcus* with the Army to *Antium*, *Tullus* (who perfectly hated him, and could no longer endure a Man of whom by reason of his Authority he was so much afraid) resolved to dispatch him, well knowing that if he omitted the present Opportunity, he never should have such another Advantage over him for that Purpose. Having therefore suborned several to appear against him, he required *Marcus* to resign his Charge, and give the *Volsicians* an account of his Administration. *Marcus* apprehending the danger of a private Condition, if *Tullus* should be made Commander in Chief, and thereby obtain the greatest Power and Interest with Those of *Antium*, made Answer, That he was ready to lay down his Commission, whenever the *Volsician* States, from whose common Authority he had received it, should think fit to command him; and that in the mean

time

time he did not refuse to give the *Antiates* Satisfaction, as to all the particulars of his Conduct, if they were desirous of it.

An Assembly then being called, there arose certain Orators, appointed for that Design, who by their popular Harangues did exasperate and incense the Multitude; but when *Marcius* stood up to answer those Objections and Impeachments they had brought against him, the more unruly and tumultuous part of the People waxed calm and quiet on the sudden, and out of Reverence to his Person, gave him liberty to speak without the least disturbance; besides that all the better sort of *Antium*, and Such as were most delighted with the Peace, made it evident by their whole Composure, that they would give him a favourable Hearing, and then judge and pronounce according to Equity.

*Tullus* therefore began to dread his Apology, and suspect the Issue of that Defence he was going to make for himself; for he was an excellent Orator; and the former Services he had done the *Volsicians*, did procure and still preserve for him a much greater Kindness, than could possibly be out-weighed by that new Displeasure, and the Blame of his late Conduct: nay the very Crime and Accusation itself, was a Proof and Testimony of the greatness of his Merits; for that People could never have complained or thought that he had been injurious to them, because *Rome* was not then brought into their Power, without a plain Confession, that by His means only they were so near taking it. For these Reasons the Conspirators judged it prudent not to make any further Delays, or Attempts upon the Vulgar, and so the boldest of their Faction crying out, that they ought not to listen to a Traitor, nor allow him still to bear Rule, and play the Tyrant among them, fell upon *Marcius* in a Body, and slew him there, none of Those that were present so much as offering to defend him. But it quickly appear'd, that this base and unworthy Action was in no wise approved by the Majority of the *Volsicians*, for they came running out of their several Cities, to

shew Respect unto his Corps, which they did by an honourable Interment of it, adorning his Sepulchre with Arms and Trophies, as the Monument of a noble Hero and a famous General. When the *Romans* heard tidings of his death, they gave no other signification either of Honour or of Anger towards him, but only granted this Request of the Women, that they might put themselves into Mourning, and bewail him for ten Months, as their Custom was upon the loss of a Father, Son, or Brother; That being a period set for the longest Lamentation in such Cases, by the ancient Laws of *Numa Pompilius*, as it is more amply related in what I have written of his Life and Actions. Now *Marcus* was no sooner deceased, but the *Volscians* came to need his Assistance, and wish for him again; for they fell to squabble first with the *Aequi*, (their Confederates and their Friends) about the Nomination of a General, that should be Commander in chief of their joint Forces; which Dispute was carried on with so much fierceness, that it came at length to Bloodshed and Slaughter on both Sides. After This, they were defeated by the *Romans* in a pitch'd Battle, where not only *Tullus* lost his Life, but the principal Flower of their whole Army was cut in Pieces; so that they were forced to submit, and accept of Peace upon very dishonourable terms, promising to observe the *Roman* Orders, and obey their Conqueror in whatever he should impose.



### The Comparison of Alcibiades with Coriolanus.

**H**AVING thus given an Account of as many of the Actions of these two great Men, as are come to our Knowledge, and which we thought worthy to be remember'd, it is easy to be seen that they are much upon the Level with respect to their Exploits in War; for both



both the One and the Other have given clear Instances of their Courage and Fortitude; and when they have had the Command in Chief, they shewed equal Proofs of their Military Conduct and Capacity; unless Some may think *Alcibiades* the greater General of the Two, from the many Victories he obtained during the whole Course of his Life, by Sea as well as Land. But This is common to them Both, that whilst They had the chief Command in the Army, and fought in Person, the Affairs of their Country were in a prosperous Condition, but changed for the worse the Moment They changed Parties.

As to their Behaviour in point of Government, it is most certain that all wise Men have abhorred That of *Alcibiades* as too licentious, too much sullied with Debauch and Flattery, and too Democratical; and that the *Romans* abominated That of *Coriolanus* as too haughty and austere, and favouring too much of Aristocracy. So that Neither of them is to be commended, if considered in that Capacity; tho' the mild and popular Governor is much less to be condemned, than He that chooseth rather to oppress and tyrannize over the People than to be thought to cajole and flatter them; for if to wheedle the Populace in order to get the Rule over them be ignominious, it is no less so to get the Mastery of them by Fear, Terror and Oppression. Such a Proceeding is branded not only with Ignominy but Injustice.

It cannot be deny'd but that *Coriolanus* was full of Candor and Simplicity, whereas *Alcibiades* was made up of Cheat and Imposture. He is particularly reproach'd for the Trick he put upon the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, when he imposed upon them on purpose to renew the War, as we have it from *Thucydides*. However this Fetch in Politicks, tho' it necessarily engaged the *Athenians* in a ruinous, destructive War, yet it served more firmly to establish the Alliance with *Mantineæ*, and the *Græcians*, and to render it still more formidable, which was purely owing to his Skill and Dexterity. But was not *Coriolanus* guilty of an Imposture too, when

he stirred up the Romans against the *Volsi*, by loading the Latter with an infamous Piece of Calumny during the Exhibition of the Publick Games, in which Some of them were gone to be Partakers, as is related by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*? and there is something in this Action which renders it more odious than That of *Alcibiades*; for He was not prompted to it by the Instigations of Ambition, and the Heats arising from Disputes in point of Government and Politicks, as was *Alcibiades*, but purely to gratify his Anger; which, as *Dion* has well express'd it, *never pays for the Services it receives*. By this Means he laid waste many large Tracts in *Italy*, and sacrificed to the Resentment he had conceived against his Country a great Number of Cities, from Whom he never had received any Injury.

It must be allowed that *Alcibiades* also in his Passion was the Cause of many grievous Calamities to the *Athenians*: But He grew cool as soon as They repented; and being a second time driven into Exile he could not bear with Patience the Blunders committed by the Generals who had been appointed to succeed him, but sent, and warned them of the wrong Steps they were taking, and the Danger that threatned them; (*Aristides* indeed had done the same thing before for *Themistocles*) and, which of all the Actions of his Life is the most extolled, he went in Person to wait on those Generals, whom he knew to be none of his Well-wishers, shewed them wherein they had erred, and taught them what remained to be done for their safety: Whereas *Coriolanus* not only punished the whole Body of the People for the sake of a Party, thereby involving in the same Calamities the Innocent as well as Guilty, Those who bore a Part with him in the Injustice he had received, as well as Those who had been the Authors and Abettors of it; but being also inflexible to the many Messages and Embassies sent to him on purpose to efface and make him amends for one single Injury, he made it appear that he had the Ruin of his Country more in View than his own Re-establishment,

establishment, when he rais'd that cruel War against them without so much as giving Ear to any Terms of Accommodation.

It may be said that there is This Difference between them; that *Alcibiades* returned not to *Athens* 'till he found himself in eminent Danger from the Ill-will and Distrust of the *Lacedæmonians*; and that, on the other hand, *Coriolanus* had no justifiable Pretence to forsake the *Volsicians*, who had always us'd him well, having declared him their General with full Authority, and to the very last repos'd the highest Confidence in him; herein very different from *Alcibiades*, who was rather abus'd than employ'd or trusted by the *Spartans*; and who, after having been the Jest of the City, and Sport of the Camp, found himself at last obliged to resort to *Tisaphernes*, unless it may be supposed that in Hopes of being recalled he made his Court to that Officer on purpose to prevent the utter Ruin of his Country.

As for Wealth and Riches, *Alcibiades* made no Scruple of receiving Presents, but took with both Hands, without any regard to Honour or Decency. And as it was shamefully got, so was it more shamefully spent in Debauch and Luxury. Whereas *Coriolanus* could not be prevailed upon by his Generals to accept even of the Presents that had been offered him with all the Tokens of Honour and Distinction. Therefore when the Disputes arose about the cancelling of the Debts he became still more insupportable to the People, who conceived that the Part he acted in that Affair tended not so much to the Benefit of the State, as it was designed to gall Them with Insolence and Contempt.

It was not therefore without good Reason, that *Antipater*, in the Letter he wrote to *Alexander* advising him of *Aristotle's* Death, said, that besides the other marvellous Talents wherewith that great Man was adorn'd, he had That of acquiring the Good-will of every one. For want of this Talent all *Coriolanus's* great Actions and Virtues were odious even to Those who received the most Benefit by them, who could not endure his Pride and invincible

cible Obstinacy. Whereas *Alcibiades* so well knew how to win upon Those he had to converse and live withal, that it is not to be wondered at if when he did well his Actions were attended with Glory and Renown, and if he was beloved and honoured for his good Deeds, when even his Faults and Extravagances were, generally speaking, very agreeable, passing for Pieces of Gallantry and Good-humour.

For this Reason tho' the One had been the Cause of many heavy Calamities to his Country, yet was he several times chosen Captain-General with absolute Authority; whereas the Other when he put up for the Consulship in the usual Forms, whilst his wonderful Exploits and signal Victories were fresh in Memory, yet was he repulsed with Dishonour. Thus the *Athenians* could not find in their Hearts to hate *Alcibiades*, tho' he had brought innumerable Calamities upon them; nor could the *Romans* be persuaded to love *Coriolanus*, notwithstanding the eminent Services he had done his Country, and the high Esteem he was in for his Virtue.

To This we may add, that *Coriolanus* did nothing considerable for *Rome* whilst he had the Command of her Armies, but did a great deal against her when at the Head of That of her Enemies; and that *Alcibiades*, whether in the Quality of a private Soldier, or a Commander, was signally serviceable to the *Athenians*; that when present he was always too many for his Enemies, and that they never could get the better of him but in his Absence. Whereas the *Romans* condemned *Coriolanus* to his Face; and he was at length slain by the *Volscians*, in reality, contrary to all Right both Divine and Human, but not without a Colour of Justice for having in Publick refused Peace to the Ambassadors, which yet in Private he granted to the Ladies; by which means, without healing the Breach, but leaving the Grounds of the War still to subsist, he unfortunately slip'd an Opportunity, which, if improv'd, would have been of singular Advantage to the *Volscians*, without whose Advice and Consent he ought not to have withdrawn

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the Forces, which had been entirely committed to his Conduct, if he had retain'd the least Sense of Justice, and of his Duty.

If without any Consideration for the *Volsicians* he had stir'd up the Flame purely to gratify his own Spleen and Resentment, and having satisfied That he had thought fit to put an End to the War, he ought not to have spar'd his Country for the sake of his Mother, but to have spar'd her with it, since his Mother and his Wife were only Part of his Country and of the City he was besieging; but to remain inflexible, and inhumanly to reject the publick Supplications, the Prayers of the Priests, the Submissions and Petitions of the Augurs, and afterwards relent at his Mother's Intreaty, and withdraw the Forces; This was not to honour his Mother but dishonour his Country, which he did not save out of any virtuous Motive, but in Complaisance to a Woman; as if he had not owed so much Duty and Affection to his Country, as to have preserved her upon That Consideration.

So that this Act of Grace was both odious and unacceptable, and claimed the Thanks of neither Party. He neither retreated at the Instance of Those against whom he had been engaged in War, nor with the Consent of Those in whose Behalf he had undertaken it. The Cause of all which was that Austerity of his Manners, that Arrogance and Inflexibility of Mind, which is always abominated by the People, but when united with Ambition it becomes wild and ungovernable; for They who are possessed with these Vices cannot stoop so low as to ingratiate themselves with the Populace, as if they were above the Thoughts of Honours and Dignities; and yet when they are denied to them, they become inconsolable, and are stung to the quick with an implacable Resentment. Now there have been Some who could not brook stooping to the People, or currying Favour with them by servile Flattery; such were *Metellus*, *Aristides*, *Epaminondas*; but at the same time they had a thorough Contempt, for every thing the People could



give, or take from them; and whenever they were banished, had received a Repulse, or been deeply fined, they never appeared enraged at the Ingratitude of their Fellow-Citizens, but knew how to Pardon the Moment the Others confess'd they had Offended. That Man who will not condescend to cajole the People, ought never to entertain a Spirit of Revenge against them; for that furious Transport can proceed from nothing but an ungovernable Desire of Honours. As for *Alcibiades* he ingenuously confess'd that he loved them, and was sensibly touch'd when they were refus'd to him; for which Reason he studied to get the Good-will of every Body by his Complaisance and Affability.

*Coriolanus* was the Reverse of This: his Pride and Vanity would not suffer him to ingratiate himself with the People, who only were able to confer Honours upon him, and yet when he was refused them, his Ambition choked him with Indignation and Affliction. This is the only Blot to be found in his Character; in every thing else he was without a Blemish: For Temperance and a Contempt of Riches he may stand a Comparison with the most illustrious Examples of Greece, which is more than can be said of *Alcibiades*, who in that respect was the most profligate of Men, breaking through all the Obligations of Honour and Decency.

*The End of the Second Volume.*



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